

THE PHILIPPINES AS A SMALL STATE: ASSESSING ITS EXTERNAL BEHAVIOUR AND FOREIGN POLICY IN BILATERAL INTERACTIONS WITH SMALL STATES

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree**

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

at the University of Canterbury

by

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2019

ABSTRACT

This study puts the spotlight on small states that has long been overlooked in the field of International Relations. The limited academic discussion is quite paradoxical, considering that the world is for the most part made up of small states. The few scholarly literature on small states has mostly focused on its definition and classification, vulnerabilities in the international system, or interactions with great powers, among others. This study therefore seeks to veer away from these themes and instead focus on the importance of small states, their power potential, and their engagement with fellow small states.

In particular, it examines the external behaviour of a small state towards its peers, and analyses the foreign policy that provides the rationale behind its behaviour. Essentially, its research questions shift focus away from the power disparity between small states and great or middle powers, towards the power dynamics between well-matched small states. Thus, this study addresses the following questions: How does a small state deal with its fellow small states amidst political conflicts or bilateral issues? What are the factors that shape its behaviour towards its counterparts? Why does a small state act 'smaller' or 'weaker' in relation to other small states? Or in some cases, why does it act 'greater' or stronger' compared to its peers?

To answer these questions, this study features the Philippines as a small state since it shares common characteristics with others. It assesses its behaviour and policy, and evaluates whether it projected a weak or strong behaviour relative to other small states. In doing so, this paper presents case studies highlighting the Philippines' interactions with Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Kuwait.

This study's focus on the Philippines and its relations with other small states, is considered to be an interesting analysis on the power play between states of approximate material capabilities. It is hoped that such analysis will provide substantive insights for other small states in managing their external behaviours and in formulating their foreign policies. These insights aim to be utilized as pertinent preliminary guidelines in forecasting and rationalizing a small state's behaviour, which can be considered in understanding other small states.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Case for Small States in International Relations: A Look at the Philippines as a Small State

“The Philippines is afraid of China. It will invoke the “One China Policy” in order to appease the Chinese. Whatever problems the Philippines will have with Taiwan will be fixed later on, because it is just a small country.”¹

This statement by a Filipino government official refers to the Philippines’ deportation of Taiwanese nationals to mainland China. It essentially reveals the contrasting perceptions on the power and influence of the two countries. On the one hand, China is deemed as more superior, to which the Philippines is cautious of. On the other hand, Taiwan is viewed as less important in the scheme of the Philippines’ foreign policy priorities. These observations result in different behaviours of the Philippines--- with China, it acts ‘weak,’ but with Taiwan, it acts ‘strong.’

This provides an interesting case on how it interacts with a great power and a small state. Despite its relatively large geographic size as an archipelago, the Philippines as a small state is commonly viewed as weak, vulnerable, and defenceless because of its limited economic resources and weak military that generally highlight the common notion of ‘smallness’ in International Relations. This is especially evident in relations between great powers and small states with an apparent power asymmetry. But what about the power play between small states with approximately similar capabilities? Based on the Filipino officials’ statement, its perception on Taiwan seemingly evokes an impression of ‘strength’ for the Philippines.

Using the case of the Philippines, this study seeks to expand and deepen understanding on the small states, which is generally overlooked in the field of International Relations. This is mainly because the focus in world politics is on a few “great powers”-- its authority and influence, and its rise and fall. There is also an increasing literature on “middle powers” described as politically and economically significant countries that seek their own

¹ Statement by an anonymous insider from the Court of Appeals of the Philippines in Jomar Canlas, “Malacañang Hand Shows in Deportation of Taiwanese,” *Manila Times*, 18 February 2011.

role and advocacy on global issues (Jordaan 2003, 166). Interestingly, the limited academic discussion on the small state is quite paradoxical, considering that the international system is for the most part made up of small states.

The minimal attention on small states are due to the fact that they are generally seen as lacking in conventional dimensions of power. According to Chong and Maass (2010, 381), they are deemed inconsequential in international relations--- hence the peculiar terminology of great powers, middle powers, and small states. There are few scholars that employ the term 'small power' (Rothstein 1968 and Kassimeris 2009), describing a political entity with a certain degree of influence that may impact world politics. Yet most literatures commonly use 'small state' instead of 'small power' to emphasize its presumed deficiency in relative strength.

Such reality affirms the general notions of the "inequality" of states in the international system. This is quite evident in spite of the universal principle that "all sovereign and independent states were in theory equal, whatever might be their responsibilities or physical strength" (Nicolson 1961, 137). From a legal point of view, all sovereign states, great or small, are equal before the law. However, from a political stance, they are far from equal (Neumann & Gstöhl 2006, 5). In fact, the presumed equality of all states did not prevent the great powers from subjugating and dominating the small states. As evidenced in several periods in modern history, the great powers generally ignored or treated them as "vassals rather than as equals" (Vandenbosch 1964, 294).

Because of this inequality, most academic research on small states are focused mainly on small states' political interactions and military vulnerabilities vis-à-vis the great powers (See Fox 1959 and Höll 1983). In fact, small states are contrasted--- either explicitly or implicitly-- with the great powers and, to some extent, middle powers and not with other small states. This is the common theme in small state studies, which is regarded as a mismatch, considering that the disparity in capabilities between great power and small states is clearly evident. According to Handel (1990, 36-37): "One should not compare apples and pears. Since the gap between the military capacities of weak states and great powers is so pronounced, such definitions are merely statements of the obvious."

1.1 Research Questions and Objectives

Therefore, analysing relations between well-matched states largely reduces such gap in academic literature. The questions worth exploring must then shift focus away from small state interactions with great powers, which may inadvertently overlook its other important relationships with fellow small states. This study then concentrates on the behaviours of small states towards each other and the logical reasons behind them, which provides a different angle in small state studies.

Thus in studying the behaviour and interaction between states of relative power parity, how does a small state behave when in conflict with fellow small states? Does it project a 'smaller' or a 'weak' stance relative to its peers? Or does it display a 'greater' or 'strong' attitude towards it? Since this study focuses on the behaviour and interaction between small states, how does one evaluate its weak or strong behaviour compared to another? And upon evaluating its actions, could it possibly project a semi-weak or a semi-strong behaviour indicating its partial weakness or strength relative to others?

Aside from determining a small state's weakness or strength, there is also an array of external behaviours that must be considered when dealing with its counterparts on important issues. Because of this, it is difficult to establish a definitive dichotomy between weak or strong behaviours, since the various conduct of a small state present critical nuances that affect its weakness and strength. What then are these external behaviours? How do they affect a small state's overall weak or strong behaviour? Identifying these behaviours essentially reveal the variety of a small state's actions and their impact on its general conduct towards its fellow small states.

Meanwhile in examining the behaviour of small states, it is also important to comprehend the reasons behind its actions. Thus when confronted with a bilateral conflict, why does a small state act the way it does? What is the underlying logic behind its external behaviour? And with an understanding of the rationale behind its actions, what are then the general characteristics of a weak behaviour or a strong behaviour of a small state? Essentially, this can be analysed by examining its foreign policy and the various factors that shape it. It provides the reasons behind certain behaviours at particular times. Hence, understanding a

small state's foreign policy is necessary in examining the pattern of its behaviour, and eventually the typical features of a small state.

In addressing these questions, the following research objectives are presented below using the Philippines as a case to understand a small state's external behaviour and foreign policy during its interactions with fellow small states:

First, this study proposes and employs an evaluative measure to determine whether the Philippines' behaviour is weak or strong relative to other small states. This involves the issue power balance and the issue outcome between the Philippines and its counterpart. Such evaluation provides an approximate indication of either a complete or partial weakness and strength of the Philippines' behaviour.

Second, this study seeks to identify and analyse the external behaviours of the Philippines amidst issues or conflicts with other small states. These behaviours are based on the situation that the Philippines is involved in; and the actor that it has to deal with, which is its fellow small state. The analysis of these external behaviours contribute to the overall assessment of the potency of the Philippines' conduct in its bilateral engagement.

Lastly, this study examines the foreign policy of the Philippines as a small state that provides the basis of its external behaviour. It discusses the leadership, political, and bilateral determinants in the country's foreign policy. Each of these determinants has internal and external factors. These factors correspond to a particular state behaviour, which offers an explanation to the Philippines' conduct on an issue with another small state.

1.2 Focus of the Study

To contribute to the scarce literature on small states, this study features the Philippines--- its external behaviour and foreign policy in the context of its interactions with fellow small states. Using the Philippines as the focus of this study can serve as a relevant reference for other small states since it possesses the following characteristics:

One prominent characteristics of a small state that the Philippines possess is that it suffers from limited economic resources. Even with a growing population of about 106.5

million (ranking 13th largest in the world),² the Philippines posted an estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of USD 331.68 billion in 2018.³ It also ranks 126th out of 185 for its GDP per capita of USD 3,104 in 2018.⁴ This falls below the accepted minimum for developed country status, estimated to be at least USD 25,000.⁵

And despite its massive arable land with its territory of 342,353 km² in land area (ranking 64th largest in the world),⁶ the Philippines has failed to fully develop its agricultural sector that accounts for 10 percent of its local economy. The sluggish development of its agriculture contributes to its worsening poverty in the country, with 21% of the population living below the national poverty line in 2015.⁷ This accounts for 22 million Filipinos or one-fifth of the country's population. As a developing economy, these statistics effectively limit the policy options of the Philippines in its conduct in the international community.

Secondly, the Philippines as a small state also possesses a weak military given its economic deficits. This proves the general notion that a country's defence capability is dependent on its financial capacity (Dumas 1990). Since the Philippine military has been underfunded for the past 50 years, it can mostly afford second-hand equipment from the US and Japan. Moreover, it possesses aging warships, inferior aircrafts, and archaic weaponry. Its firepower therefore pales in comparison with its neighbours, such as Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia, which already have submarines (Acosta 2015). Though there is already a significant increase in the defence budget for the country's military modernization, the fact is that the Philippines is upgrading from a very low base. According to Parameswaran (2017), "it merely spends around 1 percent of its GDP on defence, which is less than the Southeast Asian average of over 2 percent of GDP." These deficiencies render the Philippine military one of the weakest in Asia.

² "Philippines Population 2018," World Population Review, January 24, 2019, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/philippines-population/>.

³ "Philippines Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 2018 in Current Prices," January 24, 2018, <https://knoema.com/nwnfkne/world-gdp-ranking-2018-gdp-by-country-data-and-charts>.

⁴ "World GDP Per Capita Ranking 2018, Knoema, April 15, 2019, <https://knoema.com/sijweyg/world-gdp-per-capita-ranking-2017-data-and-charts-forecast>.

⁵ "Philippines GDP Per Capita," CEIC 2018, viewed March 2, 2019, <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/philippines/gdp-per-capita>.

⁶ "Largest Countries in the World by Area 2019," World Population Review, January 24, 2018, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/countries-in-world-by-area/>.

⁷ "Basic 2017 Statistics," ADB, April 2017, <https://www.adb.org/publications/basic-statistics-2017>.

Such decrepit state of the Philippine military makes it difficult for the country to achieve security. This is especially alarming considering that the country faces a range of internal and external challenges that includes local insurgencies, natural disasters, and unresolved territorial and sovereignty issues with neighbouring states. In particular, an urgent security priority is the protection and defence of the country's territory in the West Philippine Sea (an area within the South China Sea), which requires a "minimum credible defence posture." This entails the establishment of an "effective force presence inside the Philippines and its exclusive economic zone with exhibited competence to defend and protect its national interests if and when the need arises (Depasupil 2014)." But without modern military assets and high-tech equipment, the Philippines will have to contend with its modest defence capabilities to ward off threats in its maritime borders.

Yet despite its economic deficiencies and inadequate military that are common features of a small state, the Philippines also fits other essential characteristics of a small state. Its 'power' exemplifies its derivative strength that goes beyond its underlying weaknesses. In his study on the "European Union as a Small Power," Toje (2010) outlines some of the important traits and behavioural patterns of small states, which the Philippines exhibits.

As a small state, it utilizes its political capital in the international community, no matter how limited, to pursue its national interests. In its maritime claims in the South China Sea, the Philippines has consistently elevated its narrow security interests of territorial sovereignty as part of the global commons. Constrained by its limited resources and complex geographic location, the country has continually internationalized its maritime security issues to court attention and gain support. Doing so also reflects its strategic predisposition to constantly examine its hierarchy of risks and to set clear priorities in addressing the most critical through its policy actions (Baviera 2016).

In addition, small states such as the Philippines are active participants of multilateral institutions that are used as venues to advance its interests. Cooper, et al. (1993, 19-20) describes them by "their tendency to pursue multilateral solutions to international problems, their tendency to embrace compromise positions in international disputes, and their tendency to embrace notions of 'good international citizenship' to guide their diplomacy." Generally, small states will often "seek to minimize the costs of conducting foreign policy and

will increase the weight behind its policies by engaging in concerted efforts with other actors (Toje 2010, 29).” This is particularly reflected in the Philippines’ regular engagement in multilateral institutions such as the UN and WTO, as well as its active involvement in regional organizations such as ASEAN and APEC.

Moreover, its participation in international establishments enables it to adopt ‘moral’ or normative policy positions (Baviera 2016). The Philippines’ arbitration case against China over the South China Sea, filed in January 2013 under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), reveals its respect and application of international law. Eventually, the arbitral tribunal ruled in favour of the Philippines declaring that it has exclusive sovereign rights over the West Philippine Sea, and that China’s “nine-dash line” (covering almost the entire sea) is invalid. The Philippine government’s adherence to international law is regarded as “the best equalizer among claimant nations, both big and small, in resolving the dispute (Del Rosario 2015).” As with other small states, the country’s high regard for the rule of law is pushed forward in order to strengthen their own positions and to reduce the dominance of great powers (Toje 2010, 30).

The Philippines’ Bilateral Relations

Despite its derivative power and external influence (albeit limited), the Philippines exhibits a marked inferiority vis-à-vis other states, particularly compared with the US and China. Its behaviour and interactions with these great powers reflect the “smallness” of the Philippines because of the apparent power disparity.

As a small ally, the Philippines is perceived to be subservient to the US. This observation is reinforced by perceptions of a “mendicant” foreign policy that is largely pro-American (Murfett 2012, 66). The 1951 Mutual Defence Treaty, for instance, is criticized for having ‘empty declarations’ without an automatic US military assistance in case the Philippines is attacked (Arcellana 1981, 67).

As a small claimant state, the Philippines is also seen as an inferior underdog that is ‘bullied’ by China over its maritime claims in the South China Sea. Over the years, the country has been intimidated by the Chinese government with its superior naval forces patrolling the disputed waters, violating its sovereign rights within its exclusive economic zone. The Chinese

Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi (2010) justified such behaviour by declaring that: “China is a big country and other countries are small countries, and that’s just a fact.”⁸

Yet despite its relative weakness, the Philippines capitalizes and exploits its relations with these great powers. Since it cannot obtain security by solely relying on their own capabilities, a small state makes the most of the benefits and the support it can get from them. For instance, the Philippines relies on the US for assistance to enhance its national security; while it also seeks China for trade and investments, and counts on Japan for loans and development assistance.

But while the interactions between the Philippines and these great powers continue to generate robust academic and policy discussions, there is meagre attention regarding its relations with other small states. This is quite unfortunate considering that the Philippines also has frequent interactions with them regarding important economic and security matters. In particular, the country faces similar challenges with them such as terrorism, poverty, and climate change, among others. This consequently encourages international cooperation especially with several countries in Southeast Asia.

But the bilateral issues confronting the Philippines and other small states are worth noting, particularly the power dynamics between them. When analysed in comparison with their approximate power capabilities, it reveals which state behaves ‘smaller’ or ‘weaker.’ For instance, the perception of the Filipino official on Taiwan as a ‘small country’ reveals how the Philippines as a small state can view another as ‘smaller.’ Thus, the comparative ‘smallness’ of Taiwan (despite its large and more advanced economy) relative to the Philippines during their bilateral interactions, make for an interesting case for academic analysis.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Using the Philippines as its focus, this study seeks to contribute to the limited academic literature on small states. Focusing on them can enrich the field of International Relations as much as the great powers or middle powers. According to Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 4): “The available case studies in International Relations heavily concentrate on great

⁸ Statement by Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi in the 2010 ASEAN Summit in Vietnam, Storey, I 2010, ‘China’s Missteps in Southeast Asia: Less Charm, More Offensive,’ *China Brief*, vol. 10, no. 25, pp. 1-13, viewed 30 September 2016, <https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-missteps-in-southeast-asia-less-charm-more-offensive/#sthash.i6Qp7v6H.dpuf>.

powers, and thus look at only one particular sample of states. By taking small states into account, International Relations would profit empirically by gaining new data. Studying states in all their diversity may well contribute to the advancement of the IR theory.” After all, small states may pursue different goals and policies worth studying.

However, this academic work intends to go beyond discussions on small state interactions with great powers. These have already been dealt with at length in a number of studies that are mostly written in the US and Europe (See De Raeymaeker et al. 1974; Rothstein 1977; and Reiter & Gärtner 2001). Instead, this study aims to provide a different angle in small state studies that highlights their behaviour and relations between each other.

The preliminary step in studying small states is to evaluate their behaviour relative to another small state. An inquiry on its different actions and conduct in relation to other small states can provide an understanding on their power dynamics. Comprehending how a small state interacts with each other, particularly when confronted with political or security issues, has considerable utility in predicting its future behaviour and the issue outcome. Moreover, examining small states in bilateral contexts reveal how they distinguish themselves, and how they project power relative to their counterparts with approximate economic and military capabilities.

Following an analysis on its external behaviours, it is also important to examine a small state’s foreign policy that shape its conduct and relations with other small states. According to Ingebritsen (2006, 290): “Students of International Relations benefit from an ‘inside-out’ study of the foreign policy making of smaller states in the system.” Since most of the academic discussions on small states focused on their conduct in the international system, this study is relevant because it explores the different internal factors that explain their external behaviour. As argued by Kassimeris (2009, 85): “Understanding all the variables that factor into the decisions of governments of small states would, indeed, be a contribution to the core literature on foreign policy and international relations.”

This academic analysis on the external behaviour and foreign policy of a small state is expected to provide practical utility and reference for policy makers and practitioners in the government. The use of the case studies in this paper aims to inform the various stakeholders in foreign policy and national defence. The important insights derived from the cases in this

study can serve as guidelines for the prediction of external behaviour and the assessment of foreign policy of a small state.

With a focus on the Philippines, this study seeks to increase the samples of small states and the context wherein they are examined. There are already several case studies of small industrialized nations such as Austria, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and Switzerland, which are apparently confined in the European context. According to Ingebritsen (2006, 288), most of the existing literatures on small states are “Eurocentric,” reflecting the “path-dependent development of a unique group of well-situated states” in the international system. Thus, an analytical expansion to other regions in the developing world is necessary to widen understanding of small states. This study’s feature on the Philippines can be an insightful contribution to the literature, and can widen the field of inquiry as the country is situated in Asia, home to several small developing countries and the site of looming security flashpoints.

This study’s emphasis on the small states’ behaviour and interactions from the Philippines’ perspective can also contribute to the field of International Relations. Analysing the power politics between the Philippines and other well-matched states will certainly have some resonance with other small states in different regions such as Africa, Europe, and Latin America. It is hoped that the analysis on the strength and weakness of the Philippines’ external behaviour will provide insights for others to effectively manage their bilateral relations with small states.

Using the Philippines as a case study, an awareness of the conception and logic behind a small state’s foreign policy is also essential since it provides the fundamental basis of its external behaviour. An examination of the Philippines’ foreign policy can explain how it deals with other states amidst conflict situations. Doing so reveals important insights which may be relevant and similar to the foreign policies of other small states. These insights are also expected to be relevant in understanding the conduct of other small states in international affairs.

In general, the multifaceted yet fascinating nature of small states does not warrant the limited studies on them. There is no doubt that these states are worthy of scholarly attention, despite being underestimated and overlooked in world politics. This is because disregarding or neglecting them “not only reflects negatively on the relevant discipline, it

seriously undermines the dynamics of the international system and the kind of hierarchy that describes it” (Kassimeris 2009, 99). Essentially, the focus on small states should balance out the disparity in academic research between small and larger states. According to Ingebritsen (2006, 290): “The increasing field research outside the focus on great powers may well supplement our reading lists with examples of anomalies in power relations, which more effectively captures the day-to-day politics in our global world.” Studying states in all their diversity and how they operate in the international system may well contribute to the advancement of International Relations.

1.4 Chapter Outline

The following is a brief overview of each chapter in this study:

Chapter 1 introduces the value in analysing small states in the field of International Relations. It highlights the main research questions and objectives with a focus on the Philippines. In addition, this chapter introduces the Philippines as the case for analysis on small states. It also promotes the significance of this study and its academic contributions on small state studies.

Chapter 2 features a review of related literature. It discusses the available scholarly works on small state studies, which emphasizes on the characterization and the approaches in examining small states. It also provides an overview of power in inter-state relations that is considered relevant in understanding a small state’s weak or strong behaviour compared to another. Moreover, it offers a review of the previous work on state behaviour and provides an examination on the significance of foreign policy analysis in understanding a state’s conduct in the international community. Based on this review of scholarly literature, this chapter identifies existing research gaps to which this study seeks to address.

Chapter 3 showcases the conceptual framework that organizes the analysis on the small state. This study presents an original framework featuring evaluative measures that determine whether a small state projects a weak or strong behaviour. It then identifies the various discrete external behaviours that influence the overall behavioural assessment of a small state. The framework also examines the small state’s foreign policy--- its determinants and the corresponding explanatory factors that provide the reasons behind its behaviours.

Moreover, it provides the theoretical perspectives that link each external behaviour to every explanatory factor in the small state's foreign policy.

Chapter 4 highlights five important cases involving the Philippines' behaviour and interactions with fellow small states. It first explains the method employed in the data gathering for these cases, which involves personal interviews (primary sources) and the use of published materials and references (secondary sources). It then discusses the operationalization of the concepts and theories in the conceptual framework and applies it in the cases between the Philippines and other small states. The discussion in each case concludes with an evaluation of the Philippines' weak or strong behaviour relative to its counterpart.

Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of the cases. It essentially describes the Philippines' foreign policy---- its leadership, political and bilateral determinants, each of which has its explanatory factors. These factors provide the rationalization on why the Philippines projects certain behaviours in its interactions with other small states when confronted with a bilateral issue or dispute.

Chapter 6 concludes this study by reviewing the research questions and objectives raised in the first chapter, and specifically addressing them. Drawing from the analysis in the case of the Philippines, this chapter also offers relevant insights that can serve as guiding principles in understanding a small state's policy and behaviour, and how these determine its weak or strong behaviour in its engagement with others.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Studies on Small States in International Relations

This chapter presents a review of the existing literature on small states to identify the gaps in academic discussion. Firstly, it describes the status of small state studies in International Relations, where there is limited research and less academic interests compared to the field's fascination on great powers, and to some extent, middle powers. Secondly, it provides the varied characterizations of small states, to which there is no widely-accepted definition since identifying a small state is an exceptionally difficult endeavour.

In relation, this chapter presents the various approaches in studying small states and emphasizes the need to go beyond utilizing objective and subjective methods in analysing them. Instead, it argues for a relational approach that examines small states in its engagement with other countries based on its power relations.

Yet generally, the available scholarly works on small states mostly centres on their interactions with great or middle powers. This discrepancy in power relations has long been the focus in small state studies. Thus, this study aims to contribute to the academic literature on small states by focusing on their interactions and the power dynamics with fellow small states.

In addition, this chapter underscores the small state's external behaviour as the manifestation of its relative power towards another. Meanwhile, its external behaviour is explained through the various factors that influence a small state's foreign policy. While there are numerous academic resources on state behaviour and foreign policy in general, there are only a few scholarly discussion that relates them to small states. Thus to address this deficiency in the field of International Relations, this study concentrates on the external behaviour and foreign policy of a small state and how these influence its weakness and strength in its engagement with others.

2.1 History of Small State Studies

Academic interests on the small states had featured various themes at different junctures in history. At the end of the First World War, a number of new small states emerged out of the ruins of the old territorial empires. Scholarly attention was then centred on their chances of economic and political survival, which seemed doubtful at the start (Höll 1983, 14). During the Second World War, the security of small states became the main focus of discussion as the war threatened their very existence. This was underscored in Annette Baker Fox's (1959) book entitled *The Power of Small States: Diplomacy in World War II*, which examined the behaviour of small states in Europe and how they conducted diplomacy during the war. Her seminal work marked the beginning of a genuine school of small state studies.

Eventually, small states attracted international attention during the 1960s and 1970s. By then, these nations grew in numbers after gaining their formal independence from their imperial rulers. During this period of decolonization, the importance of these former colonies became evident with the resurgence of nationalism among them. This trend was also reinforced by the principle of self-determination promoted by the United Nations (Kassimeris 2009, 85-86). However, the fundamental question remained the survival of small states among the bigger powers, despite their emancipation from their colonial dependence and the fundamental changes in the international system after the two world wars (Höll 1983, 15).

Meanwhile during the Cold War, studies on the small states focused mainly on security interests and included discussions on their foreign policy options. Robert Rothstein's (1968) book entitled *Alliances and Small Powers* examined the historical behaviour of small nations within alliances amidst great power politics. In addition, David Vital's (1980) *The Inequality of States* explored the precarious situation of the isolated, unaligned small states in the international system. However, according to De Raeymaeker (1974, 15): "None of these studies exhaust all aspects of the small states' foreign policy. Necessary analysis on the small states' capabilities, determinants, motivations, and behavioural patterns during the Cold War and the era of peaceful coexistence were lacking."

Eventually, the 1980s saw a diversity of themes explored to further understand the small states. Literatures published during this period dealt with the economic development

of small states. Clark and Payne's (1987) *Politics, Security and Development in Small States*, and Butter's (1985) *An Introduction to Mini-Economics* analysed the economic issues faced by these states. In particular, Katzenstein's (1985) *Small States in World Markets* stood out as it discussed how small states cope with an increasingly interdependent economy. Yet these contributions concerned mainly on specific problems of small states in the European context.

Gradually, small states in the developing world have gained academic attention. Scholars described them as having small domestic markets and scarce natural resources with high costs of production and low economies of scale (Höll 1983 and Handel 1990). Krasner's (1981) article on *Transforming International Regimes: What the Third World Wants and Why* discussed how small developing countries operate in the international economy. Such analysis on how small states adapt to international regimes and institutions eventually became an essential platform for developing nations. This consequently renewed academic interests on small state studies in the 1980s.

Meanwhile, the modern changes in the 1990s generated further interests in small states. During this period, the rise of information technologies and the gradual elimination of barriers to trade in the context of globalization and regional integration were evident. For Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 11): "These improvements in communication and transportation, as well as the liberalization of the movement of goods, services, capital and even persons, rendered borders less meaningful to the benefit of small states." At the same time, external security issues regained prominence during the Cold War as a result of the disintegration of several multi-ethnic countries that threatened the stability of small states (Zahariadis 1994 and Jazbec 2001). This period saw the revival of small states studies as scholars seek to analyse how small states contend with the evolving economic and security environment.

From the 1990s until the turn of the century, the focus on small states has included not only security and economic matters, but also norms and ideas in their foreign policies. In particular, Ingebritsen (2002) argued that small states can influence international affairs in her article *Norm Entrepreneurs: Scandinavia's Role in World Politics*. Björkdahl (2002) also emphasized the preference of small states for globally-accepted norms in her work entitled *From Idea to Norm: Promoting Conflict Prevention*. She stressed that small states may not only engage in bargaining with larger nations, but they can also construct more favourable

identities based on international norms in their relationships with them. These scholars have essentially shifted their focus from previous academic discussion on small states regarding concerns on material power (or lack thereof) to approaches in employing global norms to advance their foreign policies.

Yet despite existing literatures, there are still some deficiencies in the scope and issues in scholarly discussion on small states. Though there is general interest, academic attention on small states is rather sporadic, while systemic and in-depth studies are quite limited. Knudsen (2002, 182) poses the question of “where do small state studies find themselves at the present juncture?” and concludes with this reply to his own musing: “apparently, not at the forefront of world affairs.” This observation is likewise reinforced by Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 12): “There has been no continuous flow of research on small states, which makes small state studies a relatively young discipline, occupying a niche position in International Relations.”

2.2 The State of Small State Studies

The few and inadequate academic studies on the small states is brought about by general perceptions of its limited impact in international affairs. Compared with great powers, small states are mostly seen as passive actors that cannot affect the configuration of the international system. The common assumption is that small states are much restrained by the nature of the systemic structure, while the great powers can alter the system without suffering grievously (Handel 1990, 45). In fact, these great powers continue “to take the initiative, make alliances, stand at the head of coalitions” (Aron 1967, 83). In some cases, small states are only noticed if they are perceived as useful or threatening to the great powers’ global interests. According to Rothstein (1968, 13): “In theory, and with a number of exceptions in practice, the formal operating principle was clear: the great powers, in concert, were to decide; the small powers were to obey.”

This resulted in the general bias towards the study of great powers in the field of International Relations at the expense of small states. This is because great powers are at the core around which international politics evolve, with less emphasis on the power politics of lesser states (De Raeymaeker 1974, 16). According to Christmas-Møller (1983, 39): “Small states have long suffered from benign neglect in International Relations” since great power

politics and their global impact are deemed to stimulate more academic interest. Evidently, “large states initiate considerably more events than do small states, reflecting a higher level of international activity overall” (East 1973, 165). In empirical terms, states may only be relevant if they have pertinence for major outcomes in the international system. Accordingly, this underscores the widespread idea that important events must have important causes, which results in an analytical bias for great powers that are widely-perceived as the only ones capable of causing great events in world history (Neumann & Gstöhl 2006, 23).

The limited attention on the small states in International Relations is also brought about by the predominance of scholars coming from the “great powers.” The bias towards the great powers, particularly from American and British scholarship, has long been perceived as a deficit in the academic field. According to Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 22): “The US is a great power, and so a great power perspective came to embed itself in the IR literature. Before the Second World War, IR was a British discipline, and Britain remains the second most important node. The next two states on the list of where to find IR scholars would probably be Germany and Japan, which also have a great power history.” For Höll (1983, 41): “This means that the production of political scientific knowledge and the consequent influence on the minds of the public is largely a prerogative of the scientific great powers.”

Meanwhile, the few scholars who engage in small state studies typically come from small states. According to Knudsen (2002, 187): “Academics from small countries write about their own countries because that is where they have an advantage in knowledge, possibly also because that is where the demand is.” Moreover, most of their studies are published in their national languages and, when written or translated in English, are printed in journals based outside of key “IR countries” such as the US and the UK. Rather than “making a mark in mainstream debates, their work tends to remain unnoticed” (Neumann & Gstöhl 2006, 22). Therefore, the study of small states has little visibility in the field, which led to an “astonishing lack of cumulation in small state studies” (Amstrup 1976, 178).

2.3 Categorizing the Small State

Even with the few existing literature, small state studies are not well established, given the difficulty in identifying them as a distinct and separate category. According to Höll (1983, 43): “To the same extent that nobody has denied the existence of small states, nobody has so far denied the validity of what one might call the ‘ideal types’ of the definition.” In effect, the constant challenge is to draw boundary lines to distinguish small states from other groups of states.

This problem led to the introduction of the different categories of states. For Handel (1990: 10): “The traditional theories in International Relations take the unequal distribution of strength among states into account by recognizing the existence of a pecking order of states based upon five gradations: super powers, great power, middle powers, small powers (states), and mini-states.” For Höll (1983, 43), the relevant groupings are limited to four: great powers, middle powers, small states, and microstates, which are commonly used in the literature in International Relations. These categories essentially produced various nuisances in determining which class a state aptly belongs to.

Because of these classifications, small states are generally defined by what they are not. Generally, they are identified by their alleged ‘non-greatness.’ Unlike the small state, a great power is a state “whose leaders consider that it can, alone, exercise a large, perhaps decisive, impact on the international system” (Keohane 1969: 296). And according to Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 8-9): “Small states also border on two even more weakly-defined sub-categories: the middle powers and the microstates.

While it is easy to separate great powers and small states, it is rather tricky to distinguish small states with the middle powers. Unlike the small states, middle powers are those that consistently insist on being referred to as such like Australia, Canada, or South Korea (Patience 2014). They may convincingly argue that they have achieved prominence in some other regard in international affairs. Essentially, middle powers have moderate influence and sufficient strength to stand on its own without the help from others unlike the small states (Jordaan 2003, 167).

Moreover, small states are different from microstates. If small states occasionally overlaps with the 'middle power' category, it also coincides with an equally vague category of 'microstates.' According to Neumann and Gstöhl (2006, 6): "Microstates are those countries whose claim to maintain effective sovereignty on a territory is in some degree questioned by other states, and that they cannot maintain what larger states define as the minimum required presence in the international society of states (membership in international organizations, embassies in key capitals, etc.)." Unlike the small states, microstates have fewer resources for their full representation and active participation in various international institutions.

Though identifying groups of countries is necessary to distinguish a small state, placing it strictly in its category should not always be a permanent classification. Indeed, nobody doubted the existence of small states, and there seems to be a general idea of what might be considered their typical characteristics. However, it is important to note that "the political world is not clearly organized in distinct groups but on a continuum, with transition from one category to the next" (Höll 1983, 40).

2.4 Defining the Small State

The indefinite classification of states ultimately leads to the difficulties in clearly defining the small state. In fact, research on the small states has long been afflicted by the problem of definition of its own subject matter. The question 'what is a small state?' has generated various answers. Yet despite decades of study, scholars (Amstrup 1976, Pace 2000, and Henrikson 2001) have concluded that no internationally-established and academically-standard definition has been found. Jazbec (2001, 36) effectively summed up this dilemma: "There is general agreement that there is no satisfactory and acceptable definition of small states."

Essentially, most of the literatures reveal that the 'small state' remains poorly defined. No unanimous definition of the small state has yet emerged, despite various characterizations and descriptions. For Mass (2009, 69), the root of this definitional problem is in determining the 'smallness' of states: "While the existence of small states as a distinct category of states is generally accepted, no consensus exists about what characteristic(s) determine(s) state

size. In other words, how is one to define the small state, if its key qualities are not universally agreed upon?"

Because of this issue, some scholars avoided any attempts to define the 'small state.' Scholars such as Sveics (1970) and Singer (1972) have also found the problem of size so complex that a definition should not be sought. Indeed, identifying small states was a very difficult task because there was a lot of different criteria used. According to Amstrup (1976, 165): "Whatever scales of magnitude are employed seem arbitrary and it is difficult to pick out on them where smallness begins or ends." As a result, several literatures on the small state (Fox 1969 and Mathisen 1971) opted not to address the various concerns regarding state size, perhaps because they deem it as irrelevant or difficult to solve.

In fairness, many studies on the great and middle powers do not make an attempt at defining their subject first either. For Handel (1990, 48): "It is impossible to define any of the groups of states in the international hierarchy in one concise, precise, and elegant statement. In terms of strength, states are not static entities. Their position on the continuum is constantly being challenged, tested, and changed." Even if certain key qualities were identified and seen as dominant features, the ranking of these characteristics of states may shift over time (Schou and Brundtland 1971).

For some scholars, the different types of states may be deemed obvious enough without strictly classifying them based on rigorous definitions. According to Handel (1990, 31): "Either a general consensus on the nature of the states has been assumed, or else the discussions included implicit definitions, expressed in the choice of states discussed and in the analysis of their various characteristics and problems." Such approach of not providing exact definition might be justified, particularly in studying small states. For Eek (1971, 11), the term 'small states' is thus considered "a practical, conventional term useful as such but evades definition."

Such vague reference on the small states has eventually provoked criticisms against their relevance as an analytical concept. Baehr (1975, 459) even concluded that "the definitional problems were so great as to make the concept of smallness useless as a tool in understanding international relations." However, Mass (2009, 66) firmly disagrees with the above statement: "Such universal dismissal of the small state as an analytical concept goes

too far. Not only is the small state a fact of international political life, but it has also proven to be a useful tool for analysis.” In fact, the lack of an agreed concrete definition of small states has marked “the body of literature that might be termed small state studies (Neumann and Gstöhl 2006, 8-9).”

Given the absence of a common definition, a varied and flexible set of description and criteria can better describe the small state. As Mass (2009, 76) explains: “such flexibility certainly limits definitional precision, but it might be more conducive to describing the small state accurately.” Indeed, this lack of consensus resulting in the various definitions of small states both complicates and encourages small state studies. In any case, the unresolvable definitional dilemma of small states has not hindered scholarly research.

Small states are therefore loosely characterized, not only to cope with this problem, but also to accommodate its diversity. Since they form the largest group of states in the international system, the small state category has the most diverse membership. Hey (2003) differentiates two types of small states: “those in the developed world such as Austria, Belgium, Luxemburg; and those small states in the so-called third world, including former colonies in Africa and Asia, many of which are larger in size than the former group.” Indeed, this diversity among small states is so great that scholars such as Vlekke (1958) question whether it is permissible at all to speak of the “average small state.”

Yet according to Handel (1990), it is possible to describe small states on the basis of their common features prevalent among many of them. In fact, various scholars have attempted to describe the ‘small state’ in spite of the absence of consensus over its definition.

Some of them like Vital (1967, 3) focuses on its lack of resources: “A small state is more vulnerable to pressure and more likely to give way under stress because the smaller the human and material means of a state, the greater are the difficulties it must surmount if it is to maintain any valid political options.”

Others like Rothstein (1968, 29) underscores its inadequate capacity to achieve security: “A small state cannot obtain security primarily by use of its own capabilities, and that it must rely fundamentally on the aid of other states, institutions, processes, or developments to do so.”

Meanwhile, Fox (1969, 751-752) emphasizes on its minimal influence and expendable interests in the international system: "Small states recognize that their own state's political weight is limited to a local arena rather than a global one, and that their particular state's interests may be dispensable in the eyes of one or more great powers."

These scholars essentially highlight a few common characteristics of a small state. Given their definitions, small states are depicted based on their weaknesses and inferior status in most academic literature. In quantitative terms, most of them possess small populations, undersized territories, and developing economies. They share common attributes highlighting their inadequate resources, limited capabilities, and low impact in international affairs. However, understanding these states involves more than focusing on their weaknesses, which are commonly viewed as permanent features of their existence.

2.5 Approaches in Studying Small States

Such characterization is based on measurable standards that reveal one of the approaches (and arguably the most conventional of all) in studying small states. According to Geser (2001), this approach uses an 'objective' criteria based on the size of its territory or population to indicate its substantial smallness (eg. Monaco). However, Rapaport et al (1971, 29) claims that "a small state should not be described in terms of autonomy, territory, and population, as 'smallness' is almost impossible to define." It is important to go beyond the apparent obsession with 'size' as a criteria based exclusively on physical attributes, which has earlier dominated small state studies. Instead, Mathisen (1971, 17) argues that a small state should be better analysed for its political bearings, rather than the objective qualities that it possesses (or lacks). With an emphasis on its limited political influence, it is therefore essential to recognize that in small state studies, there exist a "large" small state (based on its considerable geography but with less political sway) and a "small" small state (having a modest geographic size and various political constraints).

Another approach that is less prominent in the analysis of small states uses the 'subjective' perception. A small state is defined through the subjective perception of oneself or from others--- to establish its attributive smallness (eg. Croatia). This implies that, if a state's people and institutions generally perceive themselves as small, or if other countries view that state as small, it shall be so considered. According to Hey (2003, 3), "the research

on small states, despite its attempts at formal definitions, is best characterised by an 'I know one when I see it' approach to choosing its subjects of inquiry." Hey's approach in identification concurs with other scholars such as Rothstein (1968) and Keohane (1969), who have earlier argued that "the psychological dimension should complement any objective criterion by which to define smallness." Yet such perception-based approach invokes even more varied interpretations of what a small state is, which are prone to further debates and questions.

Due to the deficiencies in using either the objective or subjective standards, the 'relational' approach is a better alternative, which this study shall employ. For Geser (2001), a small state can thus be identified through their relations with other states, which focuses on relative 'smallness' in comparison to another (eg. Malta-Belgium, Belgium-Germany). This reinforces Neumann and Gstöhl's (2006, 6) argument that "smallness is a comparative concept." It implies going beyond the "limited understanding of state size based exclusively on physical attributes and capabilities" (Hänggi 1998, 81). According to Hey (2003, 186): "Since smallness as a relative phenomenon entails an initial comparison, this is the foundational beginning of the analysis." Thus in studying small states "emphasis must shift from quantitative to qualitative criteria" (Mass 2009, 72). After all, in the study of International Relations, it is not the size of a state which matters but rather its relative strength or weakness (Aron 1967, 55).

2.6 Power Dynamics in Small State's Bilateral Relations

The analysis on the disparity of strength and weakness between small states can be attributed to power. The discrepancy is particularly evident between small states and great powers (as well as middle powers) because of their substantial differences in material capabilities and aggregate resources. Since power can be examined in relative and reciprocal relationships, the general assumption is that great powers and middle powers are able to exercise power and their influence over a small state.

However, there are some constructive insights in the limited literature on small states that contradicts this general assumption. It might be expected that the small state with inferior power capabilities would most often be 'defeated' in a dispute, but this has not always been the case for a variety of reasons. According to Jensen (1982, 216), a small state may be

able to “compensate for its limitations through superior strategy. Similarly, the willingness to sacrifice and suffer may enable it to ultimately prevail,” as in the case of Vietnam during its war with the US.

Barston (1971, 46) also notes that, “if a small state occupies territory of strategic importance to a larger state, it may be able to exercise bargaining influence disproportionate to its ‘objective’ or limited capabilities.” This observation suggests that the ‘field of play’ may be as important in the bilateral relations, particularly during negotiations when both states consider their respective resources and capabilities.

Bjøl (1971), meanwhile, argues that “a small state’s ability to resist doing what a great or middle power want it to do is also a critical source of small state power, even if it does not have the ability to persuade the more superior state to do something” (36). Thus, the small state’s ability to hold out, or to ignore a demand made by the stronger state, may allow it to achieve its preferred outcome.

For Fox (1959 and 1969), small states can also outwit great or middle powers by concentrating their entire attention on the specific issue being negotiated. Since large states must generally spread their attention over the entire international system, small states are often able to concentrate on issues and can potentially achieve a more favourable outcome for them.

These sources of power can result in a favourable outcome for small states when dealing with great or middle powers. This essentially reveals that they are by no means entirely weak and powerless. Despite their inherent weaknesses based on the objective criteria of ‘size’, small states possess internal and external sources of strength that they can use to advance their own national interests. According to Purnell (1973, 98): “Small states are great powers writ small. They behave as much like great powers as they can. They belong to an international order which requires them to exercise what power they have.” They also have the capacity to “steer their fortunes amidst a seemingly forbidding structure of international society” (Chong and Maass 2010, 381). Literature titles and catchy slogans such as the “power of the weak” (Wolfers 1962), “tyranny of the weak” (Suhrike 1973), “weak but not meek” (Fox 1969), and “the big influence of small allies” (Keohane 1971), all point to their power potential.

Although they are generally perceived as lacking in the material dimensions of power, small states also possess the capacity to influence. Over the years, the study on small states has focused on their increasing role in the international system. Although they are not the main actors, their roles are neither marginal nor irrelevant. In political interaction, small states are known “to play significant roles in multilateral negotiations” (Lindell & Persson 1986, 79). They are active participants in various international and regional organizations such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which put them on an equal legal and diplomatic footing with larger countries. They play important roles as norm advocates and norm entrepreneurs, particularly among small states in Europe (See Björkdahl 2013 and Crandall & Collin 2015). This is affirmed in several academic studies highlighting their complex voting behaviour and negotiation skills in institutionalized multilateral settings (See Vandenbosch 1964 and Thorhallsson 2012).

Evidently, a small state in itself and with the cooperation of others, can project influence in international affairs and can derive power when dealing with more superior states. In particular, the manner in which a small state can utilize its power to achieve its preferred outcome in its relations with great powers generate interesting insights in their power dynamics. This can provide a stimulating discussion on small states, which has often been regarded as the underdogs constantly at the losing end in inter-state negotiations.

But since this study employs the relational approach in analysing small states, it seeks to focus more on evaluating relations between small states rather than their interactions with great powers. Juxtaposing small states with great powers is considered to be a mismatch, which unfortunately has long been the common subject in small state studies. This study then seeks to fill in this gap in academic literature by focusing on the interactions between small states and its peers.

Though they may possess approximate power in material resources, small states however are not equal, particularly when confronted with specific issues. Such inequality is exposed through their behaviour and relations toward each other. For Russett and Starr (1981, 124), this inequality concerns not only the attributes of power, but also focuses on power during the process of interaction, which can predict how one state will behave towards the other. Since small states are generally deemed as deficient in material capabilities and

aggregate resources, their power asymmetry can be evaluated through their actions, particularly in times of conflict with each other. Thus, this study veers away from focusing on a small state's material power, which does not fully explain unexpected outcomes over issues between them.

While material power is relevant in analysing states, it must not be viewed as the primary factor in examining state behaviour and interactions. Vital (1971) distinguishes power between "permanent and intrinsic" resources and "ephemeral and contingent" resources. The former represents a state's fixed, material power that is deemed less important in determining conflict outcomes than the latter, which are those resources relevant to the specific issue at hand.

This proves that the strength of one small state towards another may not be based on material power. According to Snyder and Diesing (1978, 190): "The military inferiority of one state may be compensated by its greater interests engaged, thus making it 'more resolved' during a crisis than its opponent. A military stronger opponent may be 'less resolved' if it does not value its interests as highly as the other." Moreover, a small state may be more creative compared to the other in managing a conflict or bilateral negotiations. Lockhart (1979, 133) terms it as "resourcefulness," which he defines as "recognizing options usable in the conflict episode at hand." Both these behaviours suggest that "an asymmetry in the evaluation of stakes may offset an asymmetry in the national power of the participants in a struggle" (93). This essentially reveals that the potential behaviour of small states engaged in conflict may be somewhat unpredictable than the inherent inequality in their material power suggests.

2.7 External Behaviour of a Small State

There are numerous studies on state behaviour (small states and otherwise) that have long been published. Some of them are based on a collection of "events data," involving a state's behaviour during both peace and crisis situations. One of these pioneer studies can be attributed to Charles McClelland's (1961) work entitled *The Acute International Crisis*, in which he advocated the "construction, in chronological sequence, of profiles of behaviour exchanged between countries over time... By analysing the full configuration of sequential behaviour in specific situations (acute international crisis), a more complete understanding of the complex processes of interaction would be gained."

McClelland's work was considered as the foundational basis for other event data analysis. According to Laurance (1990, 113), "the essence of these event data analysis process was the coding of discrete events and the aggregation of these events to depict trends and patterns." Long-term studies such as the World Event/Interaction Survey (WEIS) 1966-1978, Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB) 1948-1978, and Comparative Research on the Events of Nations (CREON) 1959-1968 were considered as useful references in identifying a state's behaviour.

The main purpose of these events data was to set up early warning systems that would alert policy makers to crises in the making around the world. However, interests waned as few truly unique theoretical findings emerged. In hindsight, the purpose of these studies could never live up to their promise (Laurance 1990, 114). According to Hudson (2005, 10), "the collected events could be had from other sources, such as newspaper or other sources on international affairs, and so were nothing without the theory to explain and predict their occurrence." Thus determining external behaviour, especially that of the small states when confronted with international issues or conflict situations with others, would be inadequate without the theories that account for their possible manifestations. This study then proposes relevant concepts that relate to a state's external behaviour with emphasis on the small states.

Moreover, while the events data analysis identifies the external behaviours of a state, there are only a few scholarly works that can evaluate the weakness or strength of its behaviours relative to another. The most relevant among these publications is typically related to inter-state negotiations. Some works in this area (See Habeeb 1988 and Pfetch 2011) focused on cases in international negotiations with relative asymmetry between two states. However, there is a dearth of research on negotiations between small states based on *relative symmetry* in power capabilities.

By borrowing the principles behind the dynamics in inter-state negotiations, this study can generate insights into the external behaviours of a small state when dealing with its counterparts in a bilateral dispute. Despite their approximate power capabilities, small states undergo "asymmetrical bargaining if only because their resources and individual attributes are unlikely to be identical (Habeeb 1989: 1)." Such inequality between small states can

determine its weak or strong behaviour relative to another, as will be discussed in full detail in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3 and in the Methodology and Operationalization of Case Studies in Chapter 4.

2.8 Foreign Policy Explaining External Behaviour of Small States

These external behaviours of a small state can be explained by examining its foreign policy and the factors that shape it. Wilkenfeld et al. (1980, 110) views foreign policy as those “official actions (and reactions) which sovereign states initiate (or receive and subsequently react to) for the purpose of altering or creating a condition (or problem) outside their territorial-sovereign boundaries.” Foreign policy provides the underlying logic behind the patterns of behaviour of a state. According to Clarke and White (1989, 5), it also “enables the observer to make certain generalized statements about the goals that states pursue, the range of instruments that they use, who actually makes foreign policy as a result of what influences, and so on.”

Understanding a state’s foreign policy provides the reasons behind certain behaviour at particular times. This is typically difficult to establish since a state’s foreign policy is “determined by hundreds of highly variable and idiosyncratic factors” (Fearon 1998). These factors that are internal to the state include the interior structure, institutional characteristics, and political forces in its bureaucracy. Meanwhile, other idiosyncratic factors also influence a state’s behaviour. According to Baviera (2012), some of these idiosyncrasies include the “amount of leverage one country has over another, personal rapport or enmity between their leaders, strong or weak domestic support for a party in power, information available to one side but not the other, the psychological state of the decision-maker at the time a foreign policy problem emerges, among others.”

Moreover, a state’s power dynamics with another influence its behaviour. Generally, a state’s foreign policy towards a more superior state tends to be deferential and compliant; while its policy towards a less superior counterpart is inclined to be more overbearing. Both these policies are likely to result in particular state behaviour and certain patterns depending on its relative strength and weakness towards another. A noticeable power disparity between two states may have these predictable behaviours; however, a seeming power parity between both may be worth exploring as their behaviours may not be as predictable. This is

especially true of small state interactions with fellow small states, where their behaviours (shaped by their own foreign policies) can either be weak or strong relative to another.

Generally, comprehending a state's foreign policy is largely a challenging endeavour, even in the analysis of a small state since it is subject to rich conceptualization and interpretation. While there are commonalities, there are also some factors in a small state's foreign policy that may be different with great powers. As will be explained in the Case Analysis in Chapter 5, these prominent factors may be peculiar to small states such as their less-developed political institutions, emphasis in its unique national interests, or dependence/interdependence in its bilateral relations. They are all considered important in explaining the logic behind the behaviour of small states that this study aims to analyse.

The field of International Relations necessitates the expansion of scholarly discussions on small states, since they populate the global community. The nascent status of small state studies can be further developed by focusing on their interactions between each other. It can also benefit from an analysis of its external behaviour and foreign policy, which should generate relevant insights and produce important principles that may be relevant to other small states.

The theories, concepts, and hypothesis behind the external behaviour and foreign policy shall be discussed in the Conceptual Framework in the next chapter. These are expected to serve as scholarly tools to further understand the dynamics of small state interactions that would resonate with other small states. This should thus contribute to the emerging literature on small states in world politics.

CHAPTER THREE
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
External Behaviours and Foreign Policy of a Small State

This chapter provides an analytical guideline that examines the behaviour and policy of the small state. Though both are related, they are regarded as separate entities in this study. The 'behaviour' refers to a small state's outward actions, while 'policy' denotes the underlying rationale behind the occurrence of these behaviours.

This distinction between policy and behaviour consequently deviates from the common notion of 'foreign policy,' which is usually understood to include "both behaviour and the underlying purposes that give some coherence to it" (Callahan (1982: 293). This study also diverges from Joynt's (1964, 189) definition of foreign policy that involved the "courses of action in pursuit of national objectives... and the specific goals, principles, or guides that are suitable to the attainment of the ends sought." Moreover, it differs from Plano and Riggs' (1973, 76) characterization of foreign policy, which merely focused on action, "claiming that a nation's policy is what it does." And most importantly, this study digresses from the more confounding concept of 'foreign policy behaviour,' which emphasizes on "behaviour as elements of a policy even if the goals and plans of that policy are unknown" (Hermann 1978, 33).

In this study, foreign policy is regarded mainly as the goals, intentions, and strategies of the state, while behaviour is the action that is treated as the unit of observation. Given this distinction, it then seeks to simplify the conceptual definition of behaviour in the context of foreign policy. Instead of using the term 'foreign policy behaviour,' this study employs the term 'external behaviour,' referring to the observable actions committed by individuals on behalf of the state. The term is an expedient reference underscoring the country's actions, and setting it apart from the psychological constructs of goals and intentions associated with foreign policy. Its use is intended to give vocabulary simplicity and a more coherent dichotomy between policy and behaviour.

Further, this study clarifies the distinction between evaluating a small state's weakness or strength in its external behaviour, and assessing the characteristics of a weak or strong small state, which have different political connotations. In Political Science, a "weak state" or a "strong state" depends on an evaluation of the state's capacity (or lack thereof) to penetrate the territory it governs, implement its policy autonomously from social groups, and professionalize or institutionalize its bureaucracy (Soifer and vom Hau 2008). However this study does not refer to them and instead centres on analysing the strength and weakness of a small state's "external behaviour" vis-à-vis other small states.

After clarifying the important terms above, this study puts into theoretical context the concepts employed in the analysis of small state interactions. It recognizes the influence of neorealism or structural realism in the field of International Relations. This theory suggests that, because of the anarchic structure of the international system, small states are fearful of one another. They recognize that the more powerful they are relative to their rivals, the better their chances of survival and the better they can protect their interests (Mearsheimer 2014). Based on this neorealist/ structural realist's school of thought, the issues and conflicts between small states point to the influence of relative power and varying capabilities. Both of these essentially affect a small state's external behaviour and foreign policy towards another.

With a neorealist/ structural realist theoretical background, this study uses the inductive approach in analysing small state interactions. According to Bernard (2011), such approach involves the search for pattern from observation and the development of explanations for those patterns through a series of hypotheses." And based on this study's inductive approach, this chapter organizes its discussion on small states based on the following order:

The first half examines the external behaviour of the small state. As the main theme of this study, it initially evaluates the behaviour of a small state by proposing measures to determine its weakness or strength relative to another. It also identifies the various types of external behaviour that provide nuances in an otherwise simplified weak-strong dichotomy.

They are also regarded as important elements that influence the overall weakness and strength of the small state.

The second part of this chapter features the foreign policy of the small state, which provides the logical reasons behind its external behaviours. Using the levels of analysis framework, a small state's foreign policy is examined through its individual, state, and bilateral determinants and their corresponding explanatory factors, which account for its distinct behaviours.

The last part of this chapter focuses on the theoretical perspectives that connect the external behaviours and foreign policy of the small state. These theoretical perspectives explain the occurrence of a small state's external behaviours through its foreign policy. Essentially, they are the general orientation that provides the logic behind the causal link between policy and behaviour.

3.1 Evaluative Measures Determining Weak or Strong Behaviour of a Small State

In understanding inter-state relations, it is deemed important to assess the weakness or strength of their behaviour relative to another. According to Hermann (1978, 34): "A behaviour is the discrete purposeful action viewed as the observable artefact of a political level decision of an individual or group. It is not the decision, but a product of the decision." To determine a small state's weak or strong behaviour in a given situation necessitates an evaluation of its attitude and actions towards another.

Such evaluation requires borrowing from the field of international negotiations to understand the dynamics of power between states. This study therefore refers to William Habeeb's scholarly work entitled *Power and Tactics in International Negotiation: How Weak Nations Bargain with Strong Nations* published in 1988. Essentially, his research analyses a state's power and the tactics it employs. He argues that the basis of a state's weak or strong behaviour is essentially analysed by looking at power on two levels: the aggregate and the issue-specific levels.

Habeeb explains that aggregate power refers to a state's resources and position in the external world as a whole (1988: 17). It is defined as the total (or aggregate) possessions in its economy, military, and demography. Since aggregate power is measureable, it can also determine the global position of the state. It basically recognizes the "power structure in the international system," which provides a hierarchical definition that identifies great, middle, and small states.

Such aggregate power is emphasized in the neorealist/ structural realist's school of thought that seeks to attain 'balance of power' that shapes international relation. According to Waltz (2000), there are two ways in which states balance power: external and internal balancing. While external balancing arises when states enter into alliances to check the power of more dominant states, internal balancing occurs when states grow their own capabilities by increasing economic growth and/or military spending, pointing to an increase in aggregate power.

However, Habeeb (1988: 18) argues that aggregate power should not be treated as the only politically relevant component in international relations. Though it is useful in providing an overall "picture" of the state's global position, it has less weight in analysing the role of power in bilateral interactions in general, or international negotiations in particular. It does not fully describe the power structure of issues and relationships.

Whereas aggregate power is concerned with a state's capabilities and position vis-à-vis the external environment as a whole, the issue-specific power is concerned with the state's capabilities and position vis-à-vis another state in terms of a particular mutual issue. In his work, Habeeb (1988: 19) explains that issue-specific power focuses on the "power structure of a relationship," and is most relevant in the analysis of international negotiations, "since negotiation presupposes at least two actors and at least one issue."

Issue Power Balance

Since the emphasis of this study is on small state interaction, it focuses on power at the issue-specific level. This is deemed as the basis of the evaluative measures used in this

study to assess the weakness or strength of the small state's behaviour. It is essentially determined by a state's "power balance" in an issue-specific relationship with another, instead of the "aggregate power balance," which focuses on material resources (economy, military, and demography among others). Based on Habeeb's (1988) scholarly contribution on international negotiations, the "issue power balance" highlights the following variables (21-22):

- A. Alternatives- denote a state's ability to gain its preferred outcome from a relationship or from another source besides the other party. The availability of alternatives can increase a state's issue power balance by decreasing its dependence on the other. Conversely, a lack of alternative may weaken a state's position by increasing its dependence on the other party.
- B. Commitment- refers to the extent and degree to which an actor desires and/or needs its preferred outcome. With greater commitment, a state's behaviour would be more directed and dedicated, thus increasing its issue power balance. However, a greater desire or need for a preferred outcome would also mean that the other party (the source of that outcome) would have more leverage.
- C. Control- points to the degree to which a state can unilaterally achieve its preferred outcome despite the costs involved in doing so. It speaks of the state's ability to gain a greater share of its preferred outcome than the other party does, reflecting an increase in issue power balance. But if there is less ability for a state to achieve its preferred outcome, then the issue power balance decreases.

Essentially, the issue power balance assesses a state's dependence over the other. As explained by Habeeb (1988, 23): "the side with greater issue power in all or any of the above variables will be less dependent on the other party for outcomes. Meanwhile, the extent to which each side can alter its dependence depends on the extent to which it can compensate for any weaknesses in the above variables." Therefore despite the seeming power parity between small states based on their aggregate power or material resources, their interaction

in a given bilateral issue or conflict may reveal dependence or weakness of one state relative to another.

Issue Outcome

This study applies Habeeb's (1988) variables of "issue power balance" as discussed above. And building on his suggested variables, this study formulates an original set of evaluative measures based on "issue outcome" to complement Habeeb's "issue power balance." By examining the ending or conclusion of a bilateral conflict, a small state's behaviour can be deemed as weak or strong based on the following variables:

- A. Concession- posits that both states start at some point of stalemate and must make a choice to converge towards an outcome. A state that faces more costs if an issue prolongs, will likely concede faster relative to the other party. A state that faces less costs if an issue prolongs, will likely take longer to concede to the other.
- B. Position- identifies if there is an unchanged or altered stance regarding a specific issue than initially manifested by the state. A 'position change' reveals that the state has been influenced by the other party. A 'no position change' manifests the state's ability to hold out, ignore, or resist doing what the other wants to do.
- C. Objective- describes the aim or goal of a state as the preferred outcome in an issue, and compares it with the eventual outcome. A state can either achieve or fail to reach its objective in an issue or conflict with the other party, depending on its ability, resources, and behaviour.

Connecting Issue Power Balance and Issue Outcome

Using Habeeb's (1988) variables in issue power balance based on international negotiations, this study relates them with its own recommended variables in analysing a small state's behaviour in an issue outcome. Whereas the issue power balance points to the course of a state's bilateral interaction in a conflict, the issue outcome indicates the consequence or

impact to the state on such interaction or conflict. This study then links the individual variables in both issue power balance and issue outcome. Since each variable is connected to the other, their correlation is presented in the following hypothesis that are originally-conceived in this study:

A. Alternative \leftrightarrow Concession

If a small state can find or create more alternatives to achieve its preferred outcome, it will have few concessions to make with the other.

If a small state has few or no alternative to achieve its preferred outcome, it will have more concessions to make with the other.

B. Commitment \leftrightarrow Objective

If a small state has high commitment in the pursuit of its preferred outcome, it will likely achieve its objective.

If a small state has low commitment in the pursuit of its preferred outcome, it will likely miss its objective.

C. Control \leftrightarrow Position

If a small state has strong control to push for its preferred outcome, it will not have a change in position in its policy or action towards the other.

If a small state has weak control to push for its preferred outcome, it will have a change in position in its policy and action towards the other.

The correlation of these variables between the issue power balance and issue outcome provides a general assessment of a small state's weakness or strength in its bilateral interaction. This should serve as an "initial estimation" of its behaviour based on these evaluative measures at the conclusion of each case or issue with another small state.

Combining Habeeb's (1988) lists of variables on issue power balance and this study's original set of variables on issue outcome, the table below presents a summary of the basic characteristics of a small state's weak or strong behaviour. This study particularly arrived at

the following description of weak or strong behaviour as a result of the evaluation of the variables in issue power balance and issue outcome.

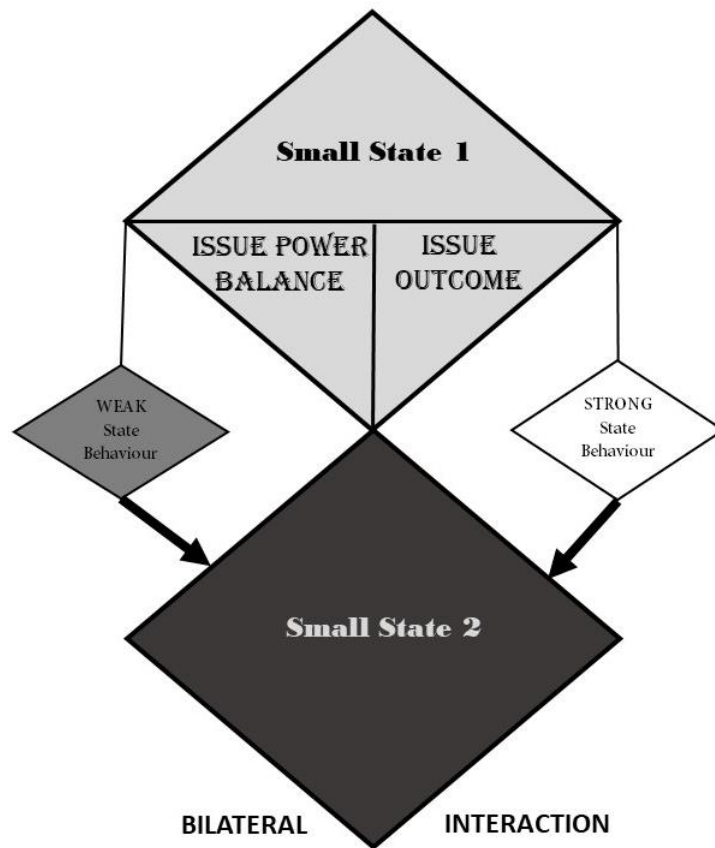
Table 1: Summary of the characteristics of Weak or Strong Behaviour of a Small State based on Issue Power Balance and Issue Outcome⁹

Weak Small State Behaviour	Issue Power Balance	Issue Outcome
	Few Alternative	More Concession
	Low Commitment	Missed Objective
	Weak Control	Position Change
Strong Small State Behaviour	More Alternative	Few Concession
	High Commitment	Achieved Objective
	Strong Control	No Position Change

Meanwhile, the figure below is a visual representation of the evaluative measures composed of the issue power balance and issue outcome, which determines a small state's weak or strong behaviour relative to another small state.

⁹ Variables from issue power balance are taken from Habeeb (1998). The variables from the issue outcome, and its combination with its counterparts from issue power balance, are the original conception by the author of this study.

Figure 1: Evaluative Measures that determines a Small State's Weak or Strong Behaviour Relative to Another Small State¹⁰



In this figure, the two small states are represented by two rhombus that are equal in size, symbolizing their approximate power parity in aggregate or material resources. The focus of this study is the behaviour between small states, particularly small state 1 (grey rhombus at the top) towards small state 2 (dark rhombus at the bottom). To understand the behaviour of small state 1 requires the evaluation of its issue power balance and issue outcome (represented in the two partitions inside the grey rhombus) in its interaction with small state 2 in the context of a bilateral issue. This evaluation eventually determines whether small state 1 displayed a weak (left small rhombus) or strong (right small rhombus) behaviour relative to small state 2.

¹⁰ The concept of issue power balance is based on Habeeb's (1988) work on inter-state negotiations. Its consequent issue outcome is an original conception by the author of this study, which seeks to determine a small state's weak or strong behaviour relative to another.

3.2 External Behaviours of a Small State

While the above measures can broadly determine a small state's weak or strong behaviour, there are also other behaviours that affect its overall weakness or strength. These behaviours present nuances or gradations, which consequently blurs the clear-cut dichotomy of weak or strong behaviour of a small state as discussed earlier.

Identifying these behaviours are important to have a concrete and definable unit of observation that are comparable and can be operationalized when studying small states. According to Hermann (1978, 35): "Each separate behaviour is the result of some political-level decision within the national government that can produce new action. It has a basis for inferring the boundaries of behaviours. In effect, a behaviour is a concrete phenomenon in that it has a location in time and space; and has a beginning and an end."

However, this study emphasizes more on *discrete behaviour* rather than patterns of behaviour. For Salmore and Hermann, et.al (1978, 196): "The basic distinction between the two is that the former explains a particular behaviour in a specific incident; while the latter explains behaviour aggregated across a period of time (number of years)." Basically, a discrete behaviour characterizes a single state action with no aggregation over time. Moreover, "any means of conceptualizing state behaviour that gives a distinct meaning to each occurrence of the action, is a discrete behaviour" (197).

Identifying these 'discrete external behaviours' of a small state is considered necessary in characterizing its government's actual response and actions. This can be deemed insightful and beneficial for officials and policy makers concerned with specific events in international affairs. It can also be used in forecasting, "to the extent that a discrete behaviour is a function of certain identifiable and recurrent properties of relationships," (Salmore and Hermann, et.al 1978, 196). Focusing on this type of behaviour is especially relevant since most of what goes on in international affairs is essentially the actions of one or more states.

This study formulates two new categories of these discrete external behaviours based on a small state's approaches and/or attitude towards a 'situation,' as well as its action and/or reaction towards an 'actor.' Each category presents a set of behavioural dyads to provide a

clear distinction between two possible behaviours of a small state. This study uniquely invented these behavioural dyads signifying a pair of opposing behaviours. However, the definitions of each behaviour are derived from general glossaries and dictionary. This study then highlights its original inventory of behavioural dyads identifying possible discrete external behaviours of a small state categorized as follows:

Situation-based Approach/ Attitude

These are the approaches or attitude of a small state towards a situation or an issue concerning another small state. These include:

A. Compounded- Conclusive Approach

Compounded- makes a problem or difficult situation worse by relating them to another issue

Conclusive- settles a question, issue, or conflict with decisiveness and certainty

B. Proactive- Reactive Approach

Proactive: seeks to create or control a situation especially before it happens

Reactive: acts in response to a situation particularly after it has happened

C. Impassioned- Impassive Attitude

Impassioned: reacts on what happens or what other states do with strong fervour and high emotions

Impassive: accepts or allows what happens or what other states do without active response or resistance.

Actor-based Action/Reaction

A. Cooperative- Combative Action

Cooperative: involves the concerted efforts and collaboration with others.

Combative: displays an eagerness to fight or contend with others.

B. Persuasive- Coercive Action

Persuasive- induces states to act or do something usually through reasoning

Coercive- pressures states to act or do something they are unwilling to do usually through threats

C. Acquiescent- Defiant Reaction

Acquiescent: accepts the situation without protest, or carries out what other states demand

Defiant: expresses disposition to fight, challenge, or resist what other states demand

Both the situation-based approach/attitude and actor-based action/reaction provide nuances in a small state's behaviour, which essentially influence its general weakness or strength. While the variables in the issue power balance and issue outcome can provide an 'initial estimation' of a small state's behaviour, these discrete behaviours provide the specifics on how and to what extent it is weak or strong.

For instance, the general assumption is that a small state is deemed to be exhibiting a 'weak' behaviour if it reflects a *reactive* approach in a given situation, or displays an *acquiescent* reaction to another small state. Whereas a small state is considered to be manifesting a 'strong' behaviour if it shows an *impassioned* attitude towards a specific situation or displays a *defiant* reaction towards another. These are some of the probable behaviours that may influence the weakness or strength of the state.

However this study argues that this is not always the case, as revealed in the next chapter. Though there is a general tendency to easily view each external behaviour at its face value and judge it as "weak" or "strong" based on the nature of its action, the reality is that its evaluation is dependent on a case-by-case basis.

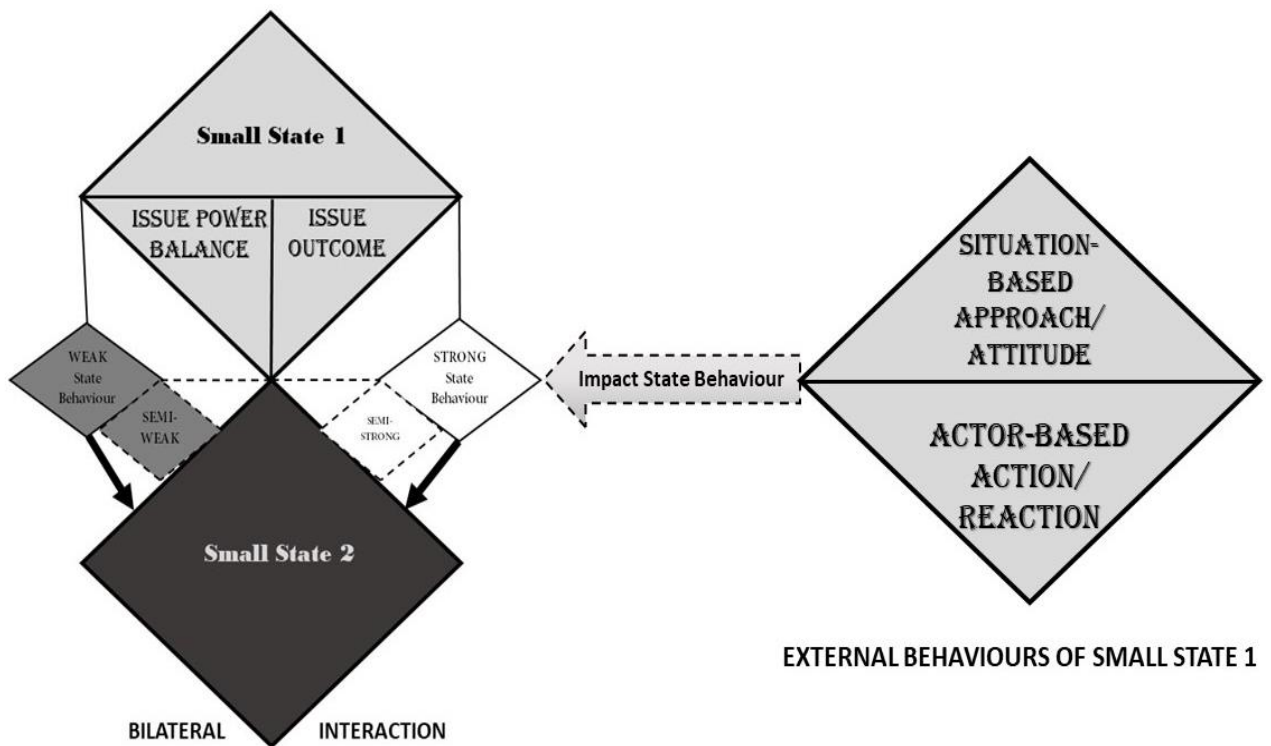
For instance, a *proactive approach* of a small state in a given issue does not always result in a strong behaviour, while a *cooperative* attitude towards another small state may actually represent a weak behaviour. Thus, examining each external behaviour requires more attentive analysis that should essentially determine its impact and outcome during the case,

and should take into account the perceptions of case actors and external observers. A detailed discussion of this is presented in the “Methodology and Operationalization of Case Analysis” in Chapter Four.

Yet what is certain is that these discrete external behaviours have considerable impact. In particular, they can generate gradations on each initial estimation of a small state’s weakness or strength. They may eventually produce an overall assessment of a *semi-weak* or a *semi-strong* behaviour, which indicates partial or some degree of weakness or strength. This implies the realistic probability that a small state may not consistently project a completely weak nor a fully strong overall behaviour.

The figure on the next page provides an illustration on how these discrete external behaviours affect the weakness or strength of the small state.

Figure 2: The Impact of Discrete External Behaviours to the Weakness and Strength of Small State Behaviour¹¹



In this figure, the two rhombus on the left part illustrates the interactions between two small states. Both the issue power balance and the issue outcome serve as the evaluative measures in determining small state 1's weak (small dark rhombus) or strong (small white rhombus) behaviour relative to small state 2.

While these evaluative measures can initially determine the weakness or strength of small state 1's behaviour, they are also influenced by its discrete external behaviours. Represented by the rhombus on the right, these external behaviours are composed of situation-based approach/attitude and its actor-based action/reaction. They essentially influence the weakness or strength of small state 1's behaviour (represented by the dotted arrow). As a result, these external behaviours may produce a partial degree of weakness or strength, considered as semi-weak (smaller dark rhombus with dotted outline) or semi-strong (smaller white rhombus with dotted outline) respectively. This reduced degree of weakness

¹¹ See the reference details on the left figure illustrating "bilateral interactions" on footnote 2. The right figure illustrating "external behaviours of small state 1 is an original conception by the author of this study as mentioned earlier.

or strength of small state 1 is a valid behavioural probability towards small state 2. The succeeding chapter further explains this in more detail.

3.3 Foreign Policy: Determinants and their Explanatory Factors

After focusing on external behaviours, this study then discusses the foreign policy of the small state. In defining foreign policy, scholars tend to delimit the field and identify the subject matter. According to Wallace (1971, 7): “foreign policy is that area of politics which bridges the all-important boundary between the nation-state and its international environment.” Meanwhile, Levi (1970, 3) regards foreign policy as a “government’s definition of a state’s international objectives combined with a plan to reach them.” Thus, foreign policy involves relevant terms such as goals, objectives, values, preferences, and intentions---- which identify the reasons for state conduct.

Since foreign policy provides the logic behind a state’s external behaviour, this study underscores the connection between the two as separate entities. In fact, several scholars define foreign policy based on ‘action properties.’ This also reinforces Frankel’s (1963) description of foreign policy, which emphasizes “a government’s decisions and actions that involve relations between one state and others.” By taking conscious note of ‘action,’ Hermann (1972, 61) contends that “foreign policy’s major concern is the state’s behavioural output.” For Callahan (1982: 299): “policy is conceived as a standard used in making decisions. Its existence makes some kinds of behaviour more likely and other kinds of behaviour less likely.”

This study therefore discusses the foreign policy of a small state that should give coherence to its external behaviours. Understanding its foreign policy provides the answers behind the “why” questions of its conduct in international affairs. Such “why” question is usually difficult to resolve since foreign policy is determined by multiple variables and idiosyncratic factors (Fearon 1998). However, several scholars have previously described and explained why states make certain foreign policy moves at particular times by looking at various determinants based on unit-level properties.

Hence, this study examines foreign policy determinants arranged according to the “levels of analysis” framework. It highlights relevant determinants (leadership, political, and bilateral) that are organized based on the three basic levels of analysis respectively (individual, state, and interstate). Doing so effectively delineates the scope of inquiry and seeks to go beyond “a description of policy past and present to investigating how foreign policy is made” (Clarke and White 1989, 5).

Each of these determinants provide several explanatory factors that offer a logical basis behind a state’s foreign policy. Hermann and East (1978) point to two approaches in analysing the explanatory factors in each of the foreign policy determinant. The single-factor approach focuses on specified elements such as power, leadership personality, and national interest, among others. However, its explanation may be unsatisfactory and “limited to those foreign policy occasions when the emphasized factor predominates” (16). Meanwhile, the multiple-factor approach offers an indiscriminate “shopping” list of numerous factors with less emphasis on how they theoretically affect foreign policy. Though it greatly enlarged the number of possible variables, it has minimal contribution to improve foreign policy analysis.

Because of the apparent inadequacies of using either one of these approaches, this study therefore combines the efficacy of the two--- considering the applicability of all related factors (multiple approach) and giving adequate attention to each of them (single approach). Essentially, it will neither use one over the other. Instead, this study will concentrate on analysing several yet relevant factors to explain a small state’s foreign policy. Because of this, it nominates the following foreign policy determinants and their corresponding explanatory factors that are most relevant in examining small states (particularly applying it in the Philippines’ case as the focus of this study):

3.3.1 Leadership Determinants: Personal Characteristics and Global Perceptions

The leadership determinant in a state’s foreign policy examines a leader’s policy choices as a decision maker and to what extent these make a difference in the state’s behaviour. Since foreign policy is the product of human agency, such determinant discusses the “individuals shaping the course of history, because it is their choices and decisions that

drive the course of events” (Breuning 2007, 11). Culling from studies of political psychology and cognitive theory, Alden and Aran (2012, 19) argues that it is important to “focus on the mind of the decision maker, its powerful effect on the framing of particular foreign policy issues, and the consequent impact on the formulation and selection of policy options.”

Generally, these leaders acting in the name of the state significantly influence the actions of a state. Snyder et al (1962, 65) asserts that: “It is one of our basic methodological choices to define the state as its official decision makers – those whose authoritative acts are, to all intents and purposes, the acts of the state.” Thus, comprehending a state’s foreign policy and external behaviour require an awareness of its leaders’ idiosyncratic characteristics.

Personal Characteristics of Leaders

State leaders can be examined based on their personal characteristics brought about by the following factors (among many others) that influence the policy choices and decisions they make:

- A. The ‘personality’ of a leader is regarded as predictors of his/her pronouncements and decisions and is also used as a basis on how the world sees them. It is essential to understand the personalities of leaders particularly in democratic societies. This is because they are forced to rely on their interpersonal skills and arts of persuasion to carry out their policies due to the inherent limitations on their institutional powers (Preston 2001).
- B. The ‘leadership style’ is also a significant element in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Based on their personalities, leaders cultivate various styles in managing state affairs. While there are several studies identifying leadership styles, the Human Resource Development Quarterly (HRDQ) offers four simple and concise categories. These include ‘direct’ (envisioning the future), ‘spirited’ (engaging others), ‘considerate’ (encouraging others), and ‘systematic’ (executing results) leadership styles.

Global Perceptions of Leaders

In addition, a state's foreign policy can be examined based on the global perceptions of its leaders. These perceptions generally serve as a guide in their foreign policy choices. How situations are assessed will be based on a leader's perceptions of reality that seeks to simplify and organize the external environment. Departing from 'strict rationality,' these perceptions provide insights into why a state behaves the way it does based on the way its decision makers defined their situation (Snyder et al 1962, 65). Based on their 'definition of the situation,' the leaders' perception influence the decisions and implementation of their state's foreign policy. It also introduces distortions in how leaders perceive reality based on three associated elements:

A. 'Belief' refers to a leader's fundamental assumptions about the world. Holsti (1967) and Verba (1969) argue that 'beliefs' affect a leader's interpretation of his environment and consequently the strategies that the leader employs;

B. 'Ideology' involves a set of values and principles that determine and guide his/her behaviour;

C. 'Images' affect how a leader views international events as well as other countries and leaders. Such images are rooted in a leader's stereotypes, biases, and other subjective sources that are often shaped by the media (Boulding 1959). They serve as a set of lenses through which information is received and are regarded as personal assessment of the larger operational context (Brodin 1972, 99). Leaders generally make judgments about the present on the basis of their images of the past and their views on the consequences of previous decisions.

Challenges in Examining State Leadership

While it is important to analyse leaders in understanding foreign policy, such venture is generally considered a challenging task. Acquiring information about them is complicated because of what Arnold Wolfers (1962) called the "minds of men" problem. This requires getting 'inside' the minds of leaders to understand their attitudes and beliefs with respect to

a particular issue. And this is further complicated by the fact that the “individuals themselves may have difficulty in explaining why they pursued one course of action rather than another” (Clarke and White, 1989, 8). This is the reason why Wilkenfeld et al. (1980, 42) concludes that this “psychological domain is the most elusive and least amenable to systematic empirical analysis.” Hence, this dilemma impedes the explanation of a leader’s decisions and behaviour regarding his/her country’s international affairs.

Yet despite the difficulties of direct observation, it is still possible to obtain data and make some fairly accurate judgments on state leadership. Indirect means will have to be utilized, which may include analysing speeches and public statements, drawing insights from public interviews or biographies, making inferences about traits and motivations from behaviour, evaluating his/her public reputation, or relating previous foreign policy decisions and actions to suggest a particular inclination. This indirect information should provide clues in understanding state leadership and an estimation of his/her foreign policy.

3.3.2 Political Determinants: Political Institutions and National Interests

Aside from individual leaders, the political determinants of a state are also vital in understanding its policies. This is to prevent “losing sight of the larger context in which the individual decision-maker operates” (Brodin 1972, 102). Thus, the political determinants present the internal dynamics that influence the decision-making process and implementation of foreign policy. The political regime in which a state operates, the institutional arrangements where policies are made, the domestic actors who make the decisions, the national interest and public opinion that motivate such decisions--- these are the important political determinants that shape the content and conduct of its foreign policy.

Political Institutions of the State

The political institutions of a country serve as the organizational context in which policies are formulated. They essentially feature the political actors and the bureaucracy that have important roles to play in the foreign policy process.

In a democratic regime with a presidential system of government, these political actors serve within the three branches of government, each with distinct and independent powers and areas of responsibility. Though they are all separate and equal, members of the legislative and judicial branches of government have minimal roles in the making and implementation of foreign policy. For the most part, it is the executive branch and its extensive bureaucracy that assumes the primary role in the foreign policy process.

Political Actors

The executive branch of government is typically headed by the president. As the chief executive, he/she is allotted substantial power as the top decision maker, whose role is regarded as the focal point in foreign policy. According to Putnam (1988), the president has to operate within two competing frameworks with different rules and several operational logics – the external environment which is anarchic, and the domestic environment which operates under recognized rules. This essentially underscores that, while the president has substantial power in the pursuit of the nation's foreign policy, he/she is simultaneously confronted with the challenges of addressing external forces and internal constraints such as domestic politics and institutional restrictions.

Aside from the president, the bureaucrats also comprise the executive branch of government. In the field of foreign policy, most of these bureaucrats serve as Foreign Service Officers or diplomats. They are largely consulted regarding foreign policy matters and provide outputs that structure situations in which state leaders make decisions. For Alden and Aran (2012, 46), these outputs include “the information and foreign policy alternatives presented to the president; as well as the routine responses or the standard operating procedures (SOPs), which shape how foreign policy decisions of the president should be implemented.”

These bureaucrats also serve as record keepers and the vanguards of institutional memory. They “provide a collective memorial of past actions, making current problem-solving simpler and more rational” (Kegley and Wittkopf 1979, 339). It is therefore expected that the president and the “central decision makers trust the expertise, predetermined preferences, and contingency plans already developed by the bureaucracy” (Krasner 1972, 176). In

addition, these bureaucrats play an important role in diplomacy as they possess the essential skills in dealing with foreign governments, either to cooperate or negotiate with them.

Besides the president and the bureaucrats, political appointees also compose the executive government and possess a substantial influence in foreign policy particularly during the decision-making process. Dubbed as the 'in-and-outers' of government, these political appointees are chosen by the president seeking to achieve his/her policies. Essentially, they are regarded as the president's personal representatives who would argue for his/her views and advocacies in the bureaucracy.

Some of these political appointees typically serve as immediate advisers to the president. They normally have vested interests in providing the kind of information and recommendations that they believe their boss desires. In turn, the president tends to listen to their counsel, which sometimes confirms the president's own predispositions (Jensen 1982, 128). Other political appointees occupy high-level positions in government agencies and work with the bureaucrats.

Bureaucratic Politics

The dynamics between these political actors in the bureaucracy tend to produce critical challenges in the foreign policy process of a state. Halperin et al (2006) points to the concept of "bureaucratic politics," which focuses on how the various interests and priorities of different government agencies, departments, and individuals – and the conflicts among them – can influence how foreign policy is formulated and implemented. Though bureaucratic politics is difficult to analyse as it requires intimate knowledge (particularly during the decision-making process), it is considered a useful concept to generate assumptions on a country's foreign policy.

For one, bureaucratic politics is evident in the interaction between the tenured president and the permanent bureaucracy. There is often pressure and anxiety whenever the executive government undergoes leadership transition, which significantly affects a country's foreign policy. An adjustment in foreign policy is directly related to the amount of change involved in the coming to power of a new administration. Salmore and Salmore (1978: 110)

explain that: "If the new regime consists of the same support groups as the one it follows, and perhaps even some of the same personnel, change is likely small. The less the old and new regimes have in common, the more likely there is to be change in policy. The more similar they are, the more similar their foreign policy."

Thus, the bureaucracy tends to adjust to the idiosyncrasies of each president, hoping to minimize differences between the past and present chief executive. Hermann (1980) generally describes this tendency as follows: "One head of state may focus foreign policy-making within his own office, while his predecessor may have been willing to let the bureaucracy handle all but problems of crisis proportions. One head of state may be given to rhetoric in the foreign policy arena; while his predecessor may have wanted action" (11).

Secondly, there is a tendency for the bureaucracy to be politicized due to the presence of political appointees. The more there are layers of political appointees, the more the bureaucracy is politicized. Further, bureaucratic politics becomes apparent when bureaucrats have to deal with the president's political appointees who may have limited foreign policy experience. Moreover, these appointees whose positions are coterminous with the president, seek to move up in their business or profession as a result of having served in the government. Most of them have further aspirations to run for elective posts in the future and believe that the publicity and prominence of an appointive office will further those ambitions (Hilsman 1990, 152).

Tensions often arise between the professional bureaucrats and political appointees when they possess conflicting views on foreign policy matters. Generally, political appointees are expected to accede to the expertise of the bureaucrats who are often more knowledgeable regarding foreign policy issues and the work of the government agencies they head. Yet the usual outcome is that the position and recommendations of the political appointees serving as advisers to the president or head of the department, trump those of the bureaucrats who work under them.

Lastly, bureaucratic politics is reflected among the different agencies comprising the bureaucracy. The executive government is expected to consider the different department agencies in its large bureaucratic structure, which may result in the slow and protracted

process in foreign policy decision making. Though they generate a wide range of alternatives, this also means that several layers of information relevant to rational decision making must be accounted for. Since foreign policy issues affect many agencies, “decision making is likely to proceed at a snail’s pace if all relevant agencies are provided with the opportunity to ‘sign off’ on a given report or decision” (Jensen 1982, 124).

In relation, the executive government is inclined to oversee the diverse interests of these agencies. Some of these interests include augmenting their resources, furthering their ability to fulfil their stated missions, and maintaining morale among their personnel, which affect their foreign policy outputs (Halperin et. al 1971, 70). With their varying outlook on international affairs, these agencies struggle to establish policies that will protect, if not advance, their interests. The old phrase of "where you sit is where you stand" accounts for the idea that a particular agency’s bureaucrat will advocate on behalf of their organization’s interests (Preston 2001), and not automatically the interest of the state.

Understanding these political actors and their interactions in the bureaucracy provide an indication into the state’s level of institutionalisation. It is essentially affected by the bureaucratic politics among these actors operating in the state’s political institutions. Huntington (1968: 12) characterizes institutionalisation as “the process by which organizations acquire value and stability.” According to Salmore and Salmore (1978: 111): “A political regime that is highly institutionalized--- that is, autonomous from other centres of power in society, operating within the context of a complex and efficacious bureaucracy, and having structural arrangements and decision-making processes that are well-established--- is in a better position to act than one that does not enjoy these advantages.” In contrast, a political regime that is less institutionalized has more bureaucratic challenges in the implementation of its foreign policy and its conduct in the international community. Therefore, the level of institutionalisation influences a state’s foreign policy.

National Interests of the State

National interests are considered as the constant driving force in a state’s foreign policy. These are the “perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other

sovereign states comprising the external environment” (Nuechterlein 1976, 247). National interests are also the motivational basis of a state’s foreign policy, which leaders often insinuate and refer to when explaining their country’s conduct in international affairs. Officials and scholars occasionally proclaim them as their state’s ambitions, ideals, and goals to the world by way of high-sounding declaratory statements.

But behind the public facade of high moral purpose exist real and tangible considerations of national interest. Aside from ideological interests, Nuechterlein (1976, 248) discusses two of the basic interests shared by all states in the international community. Security interests are the protection of the nation-state and its citizens against the threat of physical violence directed by another state, and/or the externally inspired threat to its system of government. Meanwhile, economic interests refer to the enhancement of the nation-state's economic well-being in relation with other states.

These basic interests do not suggest a higher priority for one over the other, since articulating and ordering them in a scheme of importance is the primary task of the state. Prioritizing is actually deemed a difficult endeavour as these interests are not mutually exclusive. The government is expected to effectively prioritize which interests are to be defended, and which (if necessary) are to be sacrificed in dealing with other states. Essentially, the state leadership must be able to make compromises and manage trade-offs in advancing the nation’s interests.

Meanwhile, national interests bear a significant impact on public opinion as the state deals with pertinent issues in foreign affairs. Public opinion is a broad term that encompasses various sectors in a society. Rosenau (1961) studies public opinion based on a pyramid where the peak is the elite (the government, the legislature, and the media); the second level is the attentive public (intellectuals and business people); and the third level is the general public (who tend to be indifferent). Generally, only a small section of the population (mostly the elites and the attentive public) is interested in foreign policy. However, public opinion cannot be totally ignored since it sets both the motivation and restraint for government decisions on foreign policy making and implementation.

The relation between national interests and public opinion is important to understand the impact of foreign policy to a state. For the government, the saliency of the international issue is dependent on its relevance to national interests. For the people, the level of public opinion on international issue is contingent on the impact of national interests to their own interests. Though it is usually less interested in foreign policy, the public may give it more attention when national interests directly affects them. According to Foyle (1997), routine issues related to diplomacy are not high on the agenda of national concerns, but economic and trade issues as well as questions related to war and peace arouse public interest. Essentially, when national interests generate strong public opinion, they significantly affect government's foreign policy decisions that tend to be responsive to the appeals of its citizens.

3.3.3 Bilateral Determinants: Power Capabilities and Asymmetric Relations

Aside from the leadership and political determinants that are both internal to the state, there are also the bilateral determinants that influence a state's foreign policy. They essentially explain the policies and actions of a small state in relation to another.

Relative Power Capabilities between States

A state's power in terms of its possessions is synonymous to the aggregate structural power, which typically involves an inventory of its resources. Such 'power inventory' generally includes a state's human resources, geographic conditions, industrial capability, economic assets, advanced technology, and military forces. The resources that a state possesses or lacks, affects a state's foreign policy choices and the menu of activity that it can afford to pursue. And if these are available to the state, it must operationalize such resources into capabilities, which Russett and Starr (1981, 136) regard as the 'means' part of the means-end process of foreign policy. They argue that what is possible for a state is dependent on the means at its disposal.

Meanwhile, analysing a state's power in relational terms also emphasizes the use of its capabilities to affect the behaviour of others. The differences in the capabilities available to each state compared to another is referred to as relative power capabilities (Barbieri 1996). This is typically utilised by a state to project influence over another. This relational concept of

power goes beyond the possession of resources and centres on the actions taken by country A that cause a change in the behaviour of country B (Lasswell and Kaplan 1950). Using relative capabilities to influence others requires 'power instruments' that may be combined in a variety of ways. Goddard and Nexon (2016) categorise these power instruments as follows:

- Military instruments are used to threaten or directly deploy warfare against a target. It can also include arms sales, defence pacts, access agreements, or any other mode of influence rooted in military capital.
- Economic instruments make use of financial assistance, trade relations, economic sanctions, among others. They are used to gain influence over another state.
- Diplomatic instruments involve a wide array of practices that includes representation and negotiation. It leverages on the social and political capital (commonly known as diplomatic capital) of state representatives or other actors accumulated through cross-boundary interactions to influence countries.
- Symbolic instruments centres on appeals to normative symbols as well as the provision of information. Discourses, propaganda, and narratives could be considered symbolic means of influence. A state might "accumulate" symbolic capital by successfully framing its policies as coinciding with the ideological preferences of another actor.

Asymmetric Relations between States

Another important factor that affects interstate relations is bilateral asymmetry, which shifts the focus away from the capabilities and power instruments used by the small states. This asymmetry is particularly apparent in the economic ties between states when one has to rely on another for resources or commodities. As Holsti explains, "Needs that cannot be filled within national frontiers help to create interactions with other states."

Because economic interactions as well as political and diplomatic engagements increase the involvement of states with each other, it also expands the number of issues over which they might clash. According to Jensen (1982, 194): "If there were little or no interactions with other states, international conflict might be considerably reduced." But the reality is that frequent interaction through trade and diplomacy can cause conflict or heighten antagonism, particularly on the part of a state that feels itself to be in an unequal relationship.

Such inequality between states emphasizes dependence in an interdependent world. Barbieri (1996, 33) distinguishes 'interdependence' as relations of mutual need, while 'dependence' denotes unequal relations. In this context, dependence highlights the fact that one state needs the benefits derived from a relationship more than the other. It exposes the vulnerabilities of the dependent state and bestows power to the other arising from this asymmetrical dependence.

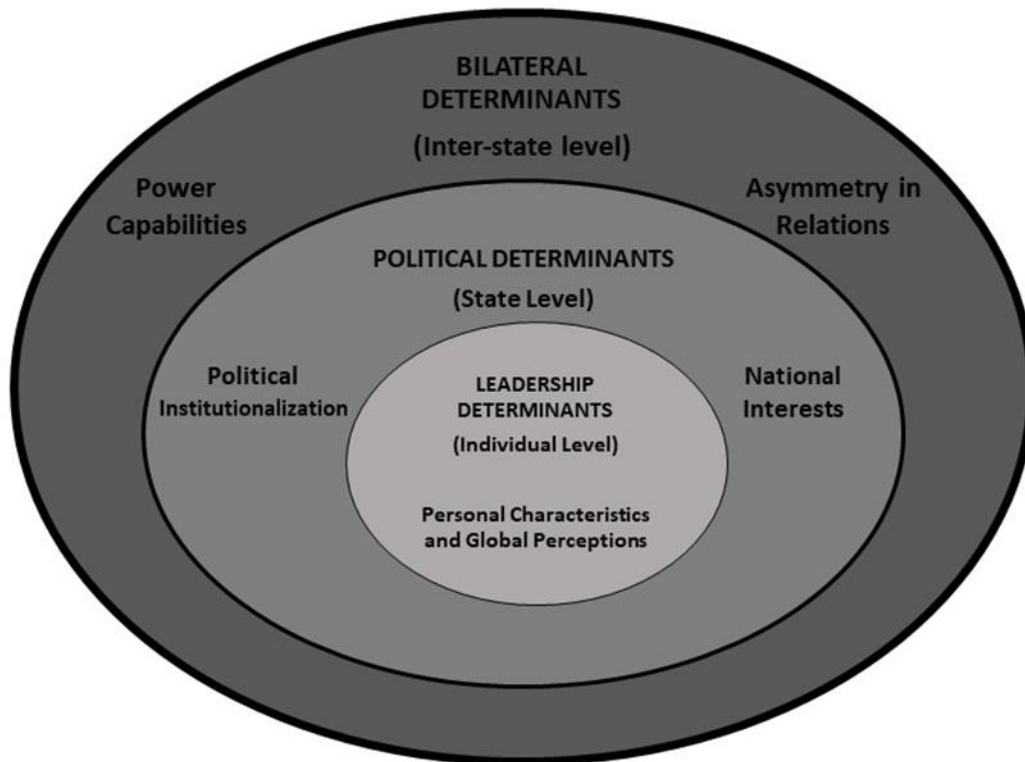
The exploitation of a state's vulnerability (whether economic or otherwise) is the source of such power by the more affluent or superior state. In interstate bargaining for example, the dominant state normally attempts to use economic sanctions for political influence in what Keohane and Nye (1977) label as "linkage strategies." According to Russett and Starr (1981, 178): "economic resources can be manipulated by states who possess them to influence those who do not." Sometimes regarded as economic statecraft, they are utilized by the state to coerce, cajole, or reward another.

Moreover, the asymmetry in bilateral relations based on dependence may result in potential hostility. Barbieri (1996, 30) argues that "asymmetrical dependence creates tensions that may eventually manifest themselves in conflictual interactions." Such considerations are applicable in understanding interactions between small states. Though they may belong in the same category, small states are not always on equal footing, which impact their policy stance and behaviour towards one another.

Following the above discussion on the small state's foreign policy, the figure in the next page visually summarizes these for clarity. It provides a graphic demarcation of its policy

determinants and their corresponding explanatory factors that are arranged in concentric circles based on the levels of analysis framework.

Figure 3: Foreign Policy Determinants and its Explanatory Factors¹²



In this figure, the small circle refers to the ‘individual level of analysis.’ It highlights the leadership determinant, which focuses on state leaders who drive their nations’ foreign policy on behalf of the government and take action in international affairs. Their *personal characteristics* and *global perceptions* influence their country’s foreign policy. Meanwhile, the mid-sized circle represents the ‘state level of analysis.’ It features the political determinants of a state, which underscores the institutional and domestic constraints affecting the formation and implementation of foreign policy. These involve *political institutions* and *national interests*, particularly those that are largely driven by public opinion. Lastly, the big circle stands for the ‘inter-state level of analysis.’ It points to the bilateral determinants, which

¹² The foreign policy determinants and its explanatory factors are taken from Jensen’s (1982) work on “Explaining Foreign Policy.” The figure however is an original illustration by the author of this study.

emphasizes the power dynamics that affect state interactions. These concern the *relative power capabilities* and *asymmetry in relations* of a small state towards another.

For investigative purposes, it is necessary to initially assess these determinants separately in foreign policy analysis. Breuning (2007: 11) posits that each of them provides distinct explanation: “individuals ponder options and make decisions, states engage in foreign policy behaviours, and the interaction between states in the international system yields outcomes.” In fact, some of the explanatory factors in each foreign policy determinant are generally evaluated as a separate entity to comprehend a state’s decisions and actions, depending on specific policy issues or cases. However, it is also important to examine the interrelationships of the multiple explanatory factors since they operate in combination with one another. Hey (2003: 194) explains that: “Individual leaders dominate foreign policy development and implementation. But their policy choices and their options are constrained by domestic and international factors, such as regime security needs, culture, political ideology, geography, economic necessity, hegemonic pressure, and changes in the regional and global systems.”

There are many influential factors at work in analysing a state’s foreign policy, which reinforces the fact that it is a complex process even in small states. Thus, examining the linkages of these factors should provide a holistic conception in comprehending its foreign policy, which leads to a multi-variate explanatory model. This model views these explanatory factors in combination with one another, and not in competition against each other. It therefore produces a more adequate explanation than any one factor or variable could do alone (Hermann and East 1978, 18-19).

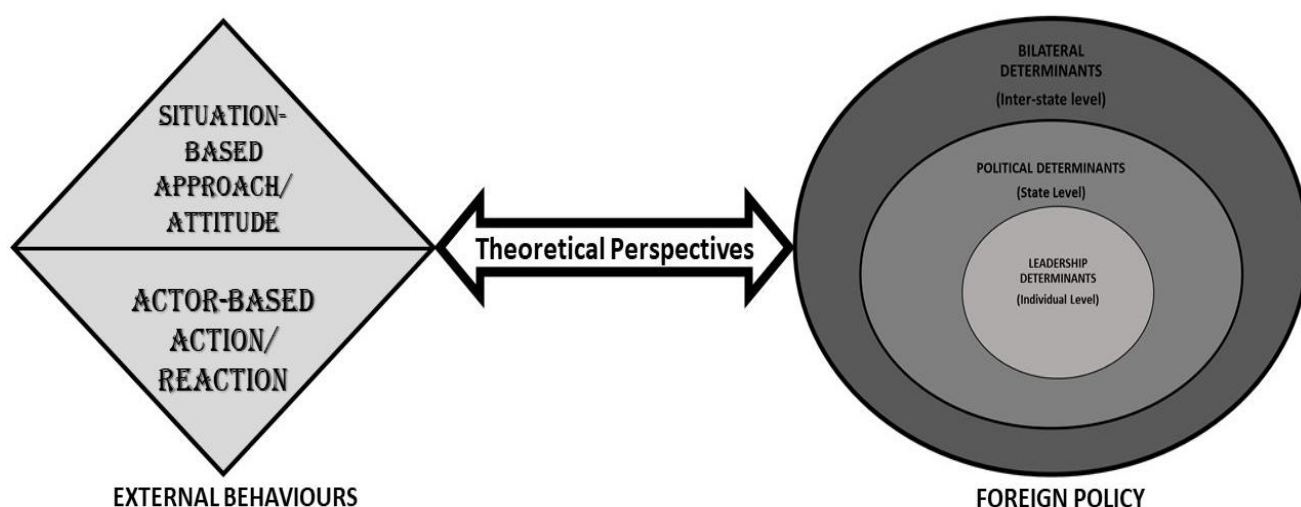
3.4 Theoretical Perspectives between Policy and Behaviour

Since external behaviours and foreign policy are deemed as distinct entities in this study, their correlation can be analysed with a set of theoretical perspectives highlighting their complementarity. These theoretical perspectives are defined as the general orientation postulating the importance of explanatory factors that influences a state’s foreign policy, and provides the underlying logic linking these factors to state behaviour. For Hermann and East

(1978, 24), the advantage of having these perspectives is that “one can easily judge whether or not the assumptions connecting policy and behaviour seem reasonable.”

The figure below provides an illustration of the connection between the external behaviour and foreign policy of a state through the theoretical perspectives.

Figure 4: Theoretical Perspectives Linking External Behaviour and Foreign Policy of a Small State¹³



From the above illustration, the left rhombus symbolizes a small state’s external behaviour while the concentric circles on the right represent its foreign policy, with an arrow signifying the theoretical perspectives that connects the two. The rhombus is divided into the issue-based approach/attitude and the actor-based action/reaction. Whereas the concentric circles are composed of leadership determinants (inner circle), political determinants (middle circle), and bilateral determinants (outer circle). The theoretical perspective is represented with two arrowheads at both ends, which stands for the mutual link between external behaviour and foreign policy as having reciprocal impact with each other.

The theoretical perspectives provided in this study are based on Salmore and Hermann’s seminal work published in 1978 entitled *Why Nations Act: Theoretical Perspectives*

¹³ The theoretical perspectives linking external behaviour and foreign policy are based on Salmore and Hermann’s (1978) work on “Comparative Foreign Policy Studies.” The figure however is an original illustration by the author of this study.

for Comparative Foreign Policy Studies. Their objective is to determine how plausibly each perspective by itself can account for a state's behaviour, and to establish a foundation for future analysis. Using their work on foreign policy as reference, this study formulates its own original list of theoretical perspectives, which it deems relevant to analyse small states.

While the theoretical perspectives are important to conceptually determine the connection between a small state's behaviour and policy, no attempt however is made to be exhaustive in this study's discussion on each perspective. It shall basically highlight the explanatory factors in the state's foreign policy and connect them to its discrete behavioural implications. The following are the theoretical perspectives introduced in this study as a contribution to the conceptual connection between policy and behaviour:

A. Personal Characteristics of a leader ↔ Cooperative/ Combative Action

There is a correlation between the personal characteristics of a leader and the foreign policy and actions of his/her government. Essentially, *a leader's personal characteristics based on personality and leadership style shape the manner in which the government interacts with other states*. The general assumption is that leaders of a certain personality and leadership style will likely engage in similar stylistic behaviour. Their preferred methods of managing the state, making high-level decisions, and interacting with people will carry over to their political behaviour.

These in turn influence the way state leaders relate with their foreign counterparts and to a larger extent, their governments' approach to other foreign governments. On the one hand, the more accommodating, systematic, and conciliatory a leader's personal characteristics are, the more *cooperative* is the state's behaviour. On the other hand, the more autocratic, forceful, and independent a leader's personal characteristics are, the more *combative* is the state's behaviour.

B. Global Perceptions of a leader ↔ Compounded/Conclusive Approach

How a leader views the world provides a general notion of his/her predisposition towards international affairs. In effect, *a leader's global perceptions based on belief, ideology, and images guide the policy and actions that the government employs*. It significantly

influences how he/she will define the situation when confronted with an international or bilateral issue, and consequently influence the strategies the government will adopt in its foreign policy.

This features the type of policy strategies taken by the government toward its counterparts based on the global perceptions of its leaders. As a result, these strategies influence the approach taken by a small state in managing international affairs. A leader who holds a complex worldview as indicated in his/her liberal-Institutionalist and interdependent foreign policy, causes a *compounded* approach to issues. Whereas a leader who holds a clear-cut worldview as revealed in his/her realist-pragmatic and independent foreign policy, brings about a more *conclusive* approach in addressing external matters.

C. Political Institutions of a state ↔ Proactive/Reactive Approach

The political actors and the institutional challenges within the government influence a small state's political institutions. *In effect, how institutionalized a state's political institutions are governs the extent of its action and determines its competency in the pursuit of its foreign policy.*

This essentially influences the approach of the government in addressing international issues and consequently affect the state's behaviour. A state with a highly institutionalised political institutions with less bureaucratic challenges, tends to demonstrate a *proactive* approach; while a state with less institutionalised political institutions with more bureaucratic challenges, tends to project a *reactive* approach concerning issues with another.

D. National Interests of the state ↔ Impassioned/Impassive Attitude

Though national interests are the general objectives of foreign policy, those that are significantly influenced by public opinion stimulate major responses from the government. In contrast, those interests that have less impact on the general public produce minor reaction from authorities. Thus, the *national interests of a state driven by public opinion generate the intensity by which it carries out its foreign policy and external actions.*

The intensity of the government's conviction and zeal in the pursuit of its national interests consequently affect the state's behaviour. Essentially, the higher the impact of public opinion on a state's national interests, the more *impassioned* its stance towards an issue. Meanwhile, the lesser the impact of public opinion on a state's national interests, the more *impassive* its stance.

E. Relative Power Capabilities between states ↔ Persuasive/Coercive Action

Inter-state relations is influenced by relative power capabilities that have implications on a state's foreign policy content, the power instruments used, and the actions towards the other. Essentially, a state with lower power capability reveals a more normative foreign policy that primarily employs diplomatic or symbolic instruments with less resource commitment. Whereas a state with higher power capability relative to another reflects a more forcible foreign policy that can project an array of power instruments, even military means, when necessary. This indicates that it can afford more resource commitment in its foreign policy.

Relative power capabilities thus affect a state's behaviour towards another. A state with lower power capability tends to exhibit *persuasive* actions in its bilateral relations, while a state with higher power capability can afford it to display *coercive* actions in imposing its interests on the other state.

F. Asymmetric Relations between States ↔ Acquiescent/ Defiant Reaction

Inter-state relations is affected by bilateral asymmetry that impacts a state's foreign policy posture and its response towards another's action. Generally, the relative equality/inequality in the power relations between states results in the interdependence/dependence of a state relative to another.

This asymmetry has implications on the state's posture and conduct in its interactions with its counterparts. In effect, the more dependent a state is towards another, the more it exhibits an *acquiescent* reaction towards the other's actions. The more interdependent a state is, the more it displays a *defiant* reaction in response to the other's actions.

Based on the above discussions, the following is a summary of the explanatory factors of foreign policy generating theoretical perspectives that implies a pair of external behaviour of a state:

Table 2: Summary of foreign policy's explanatory factors, the theoretical perspectives linking policy and behaviour, and the behavioural dyads of external behaviour of a small state¹⁴

Explanatory Factors of Foreign Policy	Theoretical Perspectives Linking Policy and Behaviour	Behavioural Dyads of External Behaviour
Personal Characteristics	A leader's personal characteristics based on personality and leadership style shape the manner in which the government interacts with other states.	Cooperative-Combative Action
Global Perceptions	A leader's global perceptions based on belief, ideology, and images guide the policy and action that the government employs.	Compounded-Conclusive Approach
Political Institutions	A state's political institutions govern the extent of its action and determines its competency in the pursuit of its foreign policy.	Proactive- Reactive Approach
National Interests	A state's national interests driven by public opinion generate the intensity by which it carries out its foreign policy and external actions.	Impassioned-Impassive Attitude
Relative Power Capabilities	Inter-state relations is influenced by relative power capabilities that have implications on a state's foreign policy content, the power instruments used, and the actions towards the other.	Persuasive-Coercive Action
Asymmetric Bilateral Relations	Inter-state relations is affected by bilateral asymmetry that impacts a state's foreign policy posture and its response towards another's action.	Acquiescent-Defiant Reaction

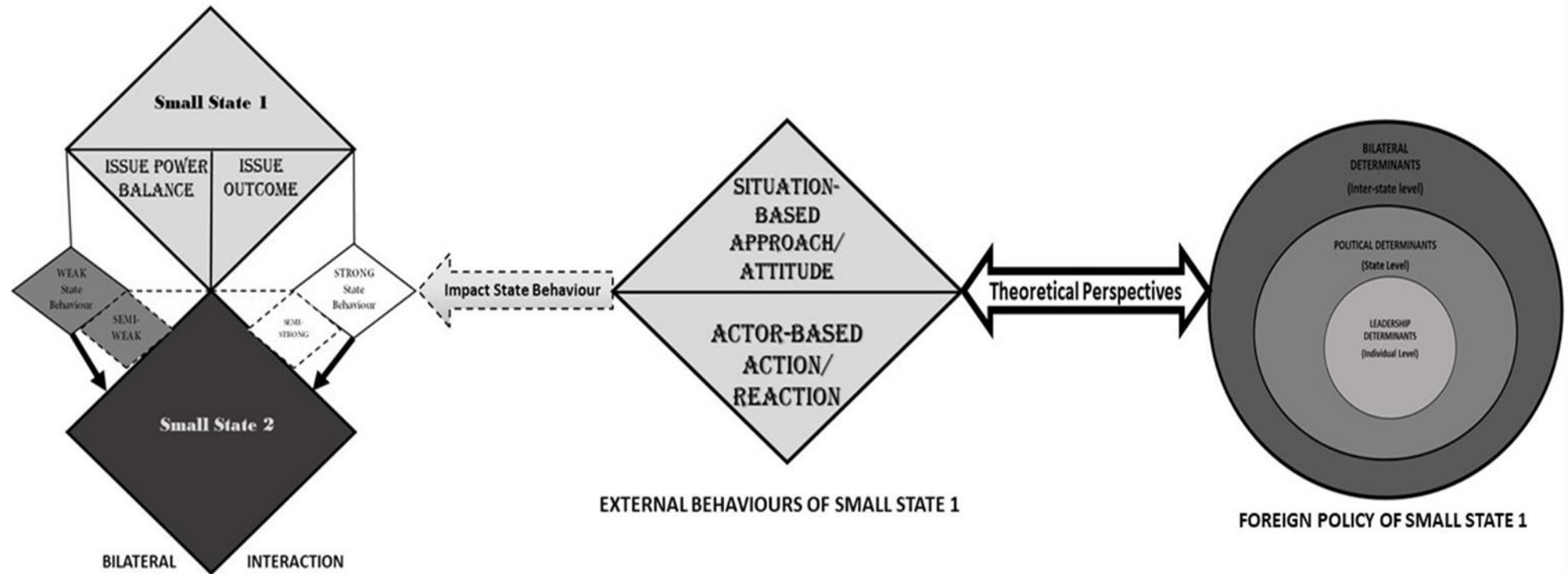
3.5 Review of the Conceptual Framework

In sum, this study examines the small state's external behaviour and foreign policy, considered to be separate yet related concepts. Both policy and behaviour, as well as their theoretical connections with each other, have significant impact in a small state's interaction

¹⁴ Details on the "Explanatory Factor based on a State's Foreign Policy" is taken from Jensen (1982). The "Theoretical Perspectives Linking Policy and Behaviour" used Salmore and Hermann's (1978) work as reference. The list on the "Behavioural Dyads of a State's Discrete Behaviour," is an original inventory conceived by the author of this study.

with others in a specific bilateral issue. A summary of this study's conceptual framework is illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 5: Summary of this Study's Conceptual Framework: External Behaviours and Foreign Policy of a Small State in its Interactions with Other Small States¹⁵



¹⁵ This summary figure of the Conceptual Framework is an original illustration made by this study combining all the other figures earlier discussed. The references used to arrive at this illustration are from Habeeb (1988), Jensen (1982), and Salmore and Hermann (1978) mentioned in the previous footnotes.

This figure includes all of the conceptual illustrations earlier discussed in this chapter. It serves as a visual sketch utilized as an analytical guideline in understanding the external behaviours and foreign policy of a small state in relation to another small state. This last figure is divided into the following three parts:

The first part on the left side represents the interaction between two small states. It emphasizes on the behaviour of small state 1 towards small state 2. An initial estimation of small state 1's weak or strong behaviour is evaluated based on issue power balance and issue outcome. Yet other discrete external behaviours may result in the probability of a reduced degree of weakness or strength, in the form of semi-weak or semi-strong behaviours of small state 1.

The second part at the centre symbolizes small state 1's discrete external behaviours composed of situation-based approach/attitude and actor-based action/reaction. These behaviours have implications in small state's 1 bilateral interaction with another small state. Its connection is represented in an arrow pointing to the left towards the first image. They provide the nuances behind a small state 1's weak or strong behaviour, which can likely produce semi-weak or semi-strong behaviours. This is illustrated in the first part of the figure on the left side as discussed above.

The third part on the right side signifies the foreign policy and its corresponding determinants of small state 1. The leadership, political, and bilateral determinants of foreign policy possess explanatory factors that provide the rationale behind each of the small state's discrete external behaviours. Both policy and behaviour mutually influence each other through the theoretical perspectives, which is represented by an arrow linking them together.

This study's Conceptual Framework is applied in studying the Philippines as a small state. It shall be employed to analyse its external behaviour and evaluates its weakness or strength relative to its interaction with fellow small states. It shall also serve as a guide in understanding the rationale behind each of its behaviours by probing into its foreign policy. To examine its effectiveness and applicability, this conceptual framework shall be utilized to analyse cases involving issues between the Philippines and other small states.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF CASE STUDIES: The Philippines' Behaviour and Interactions with Small States

Following an explanation of the conceptual framework in the previous chapter, this study then seeks to test its relevance and applicability. To do so requires employing case studies to understand the Philippines as a small state and its interactions with each other. This chapter therefore explains the methodology and the operationalization of the concepts that will be applied to analyse each of the cases included in this study.

4.1 Methodology

In looking at small states, this study utilizes the *case study method*. For Bennett and Elman (2007: 173), employing this method in the fields of International Relations and Foreign Policy “follows an increasingly standardized and rigorous set of prescriptions and have contributed to cumulatively improve the understanding of world politics. Some of the most prominent subjects of study, for example, wars and the formation of new international security and economic systems, often involve interaction effects among many structural and agent-based variables, and strategic interaction between actors across multiple levels of analysis.”

Noting their importance, this study analyses several cases that serve as the contextual background on the Philippines' behaviour and interactions. These cases deviate from the country's normal relations, which are characterized by regular bilateral interactions. They are considered as uneventful streams of trade, investment, tourism and people-to people exchanges.

Instead, the selected cases in this study are considered as ‘anomalies’ from these normal bilateral relations. What is interesting in studying these anomalies is that they reveal the policy and behaviour of the small state relative to another amidst bilateral issues or conflict situations. According to Knudsen (2002, 187): “It is primarily in the study of small states placed in the context of an interstate confrontation of a particular external problematique that the small-state concept can defend its utility.”

Generally, these cases utilize *events data* that underscore *interactions*, as opposed to *transactions*, in the international system (Laurance 1990, 112). According to Azar (1975), an event may be defined as “some activity undertaken by an international actor (a nation-state or an international organization), an activity which an actor undertakes at a specific time and which is directed toward another actor for the purposes of conveying interest in some issue. In the CREON Project, such event data set is composed of an actor, an action, and a recipient. According to Hermann (1978, 35): “Taken as a whole, it is defined as the discrete, purposeful behaviour (the action) of a state (the actor) that is addressed to one or more direct target (the recipient of the action).”

Typically derived from public sources, the events data shall be used to analyse five cases on the Philippines’ interactions with small states. The cases that are included in this study are international events that occurred during the previous administration of former President Benigno Aquino III (2010-2016) and the current administration of President Rodrigo Duterte (2016-2022).¹⁶ Because of its personality-based political culture, the Philippines’ external relations and international affairs are normally evaluated based on its presidents. The presidential terms of Aquino and Duterte shall serve as the background for the following cases to be discussed in this study:

1. The Philippines’ Deportation of Taiwanese Suspects to China
(December 2010- March 2011)
2. The Philippines’ Political Clash with Taiwan¹⁷ over Fisherman’s Death
(May-August 2013)
3. The Philippines’ Interaction with Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff
(February 2013- March 2013)
4. The Philippines’ Petition to Save the Life of Filipino Worker in Indonesia
(April 2015- ongoing)

¹⁶ There are other cases that happened during previous presidential administrations involving the Philippines and other small states. One controversial case is the 1995 execution of Filipino domestic helper Flor Contemplacion for murder in Singapore, which severely strained relations between the two countries during the term of Philippine President Fidel Ramos. Despite the availability of other cases, this study shall focus on the more recent cases under the administrations of Presidents Aquino III and Duterte.

¹⁷ Despite the legal issues of its statehood, Taiwan is considered a ‘small state’ since this study emphasizes less on small state classification and focuses more on external behaviour and the power dynamics in state interactions.

5. The Philippines' Diplomatic Row with Kuwait over Filipino Workers (January- May 2018)

There is no particular criteria used in the selection of these cases; the above cases are ALL of the recent 'anomalies' that featured the Philippines' interaction with fellow small states. In this study, there are four cases included under the previous Aquino administration, which is already a significant number considering that the most prominent bilateral interactions of the Philippines are with great powers such as US, China, and Japan, and not with other small states. Meanwhile, since Duterte has not yet finished his term as of this writing, there are technically two cases included in this study under his reign--- one of which is a carryover from the previous Aquino administration, while there is only one case that occurred during his administration. Despite this lone case, it is still considered relevant to understand the Philippines' behaviour towards small states.

While there are other similarly important cases during previous presidential terms, the decision to employ the Aquino and Duterte administrations as the background of the case studies have practical reasons. For one, these cases have more available events data based on various public resources and information because of their relatively recent occurrences. Secondly, they can generate better recollection from both interview participants in the case studies and prospective readers of this study. A relatively easier recall of recent events in each case is expected to produce more thoughtful insights and analysis necessary for this study.

In evaluating these cases, this study's methodology embarks on an incisive qualitative research highlighting the use of secondary sources. Since all of these cases are recent events involving the Philippines and its external relations, media sources are primarily used. Aside from news articles, this study also draws on published opinion pieces and commentaries by journalists and political analysts regarding these cases. However, one caveat to take into account is that this study is hampered by the difficulty in obtaining detailed information regarding the motivations, calculations, and actions of the key players, given the highly charged political atmosphere in which these issues played out.

Meanwhile, complementing these secondary sources are primary sources based on personal interviews. Each of these cases highlight the insights and opinions of Filipino

diplomats, academics, policy analysts, government officials, and members of civil society groups. The interviews seek to validate or refute the facts and views gathered from secondary sources. The opinions of the respondents in this study shall be included in the discussion on the Philippines' external behaviour and its interactions with other small states.

Despite the importance of primary sources, there are challenges in employing personal interviews in the case studies. In particular, government officials are "not noted for the frank way in which they comment on policy past and present. Moreover, they tend to shroud information in secrecy since most of them regard foreign policy as a particularly sensitive area of their activities" (Clarke and White, 1989, 9). Notwithstanding this challenge, this study presents the perspectives of these relevant stakeholders, including individuals from non-government organizations. They are given the option to identify themselves or to remain anonymous in this study. Not surprisingly, most of the interview participants opted not to be attributed for their opinions and insights in each of the cases. In spite of this, their views and responses are useful in understanding the Philippines' interactions with other small states.

4.2 Operationalization

Each of the cases in this study has the following three sections that analyses the Philippines' behaviour towards fellow small states:

A. Discussion of the Philippines' Case

This section narrates the cases using events data, which identifies the behaviour (action) of the Philippines (actor) that is directed towards a fellow small state (recipient of the action). The narration is chronological in order and highly descriptive, using publicly available information from secondary sources.

B. Evaluation of the Philippines' behaviour in each case

This section evaluates the Philippines' behaviour in reverse order. It essentially assesses the result of its behaviour at the conclusion of the issue or dispute with another small state, and then examines its various approaches and actions during the course of each case.

The first part of the evaluation determines the Philippines' behaviour relative to another small state at the end of each case. It primarily utilizes a fact-based analysis of events, supplemented by particular insights from primary sources through personal interviews. It shall give a brief initial judgment on whether the country projected a "weak," "strong," or in some instances "neutral" behaviour.

Subsequently, the second part of the evaluation identifies the various discrete external behaviours of the Philippines during the case. It also cites the explanatory factors that produce these behaviours. This subsequent evaluation is largely based on the viewpoints from both primary sources through personal interviews, and secondary sources through published opinion articles and commentaries. The discrete external behaviours included in this study are classified into the situation-based approach/attitude and actor-based action/reaction as discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3. The table below is an inventory of behavioural dyads representing a pair of possible behaviours intended to highlight their clear distinction between each other.

Table 3: Inventory of Behavioural Dyads of Situation-Based Attitude/Approach and Actor-Based Action/ Reaction¹⁸

Situation-Based Attitude/Approach	Compounded	Conclusive
	Proactive	Reactive
	Impassioned	Impassive
Actor-Based Action/ Reaction	Cooperative	Combative
	Persuasive	Coercive
	Acquiescent	Defiant

As earlier discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, evaluating each external behaviour as "weak" or "strong" is dependent on a case-by-case basis. Thus, such evaluation should go beyond the general tendency of presumably viewing each external behaviour at its face value and judging it as "weak" or "strong," based on the nature of its action.

¹⁸ The categorization of Situation-Based Attitude/Approach and Actor-Based Action/Reaction and their corresponding behavioural dyads are the original conception made by the author for this study.

For instance, a *proactive approach* of a small state in a given issue does not always result in a strong behaviour, while a *cooperative* attitude towards another small state may actually represent a weak behaviour. Thus, this second part examines each external behaviour with more attentive analysis, which considers its impact and outcome during the case and takes into account the perceptions of case actors and external observers.

Since the first and second parts of the evaluation are combined to determine the Philippines' overall behaviour, it is important to emphasize that there are instances when the findings on each of them overlaps. For instance, the country can use an "alternative" that can strengthen its 'power balance' with another small state, which may similarly indicate a *persuasive* action (external behaviour) taken during the case. Conversely, more "concessions" as a result of the 'issue outcome' may also imply an *acquiescent* reaction (external behaviour) from the state towards another.

While both have overlapping implications, the issue power balance/issue outcome and external behaviours are acknowledged separately in the behavioural assessment of each case. This should provide distinctive recognition of other variants in small state behaviours aside from identifying its weakness and strength.

C. Assessment on the Philippines' overall behaviour towards small states

This section essentially operationalizes the concepts discussed in this study's Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3. It also organizes the results of the "Evaluation of the Philippines' behaviour" from the preceding section. The following procedures are originally proposed and invented for this study. As the main scholarly contribution of this research, this process is undertaken to assess the overall behaviour of the Philippines in its cases with fellow small states:

1. Determine the "initial estimation" of the Philippines' behaviour: The Behavioural Point of Reference

This relates to the first part of the "Evaluation of the Philippines' behaviour," which reveals the initial estimation of the country's conduct at the conclusion of each case. This initial estimation uses the evaluative measures based on *issue power balance* (alternatives, commitment, control) and *issue outcome* (concession, position, objective). The use of these

measures can determine the Philippines' behaviour relative to another small state. The table in the next page (based on Table 1 from the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3) provides the specific criteria that determines WEAK and STRONG behaviour:

Table 4: Criteria for Weak or Strong Behaviours based on Issue Power Balance and Issue Outcome¹⁹

Issue Power Balance	Issue Outcome	Weak Small State Behaviour	Strong Small State Behaviour
Few Alternative	More Concession	√	
Low Commitment	Missed Objective	√	
Weak Control	Position Change	√	
More Alternative	Few Concession		√
High Commitment	Achieved Objective		√
Strong Control	No Position Change		√

In the event that there are both weak and strong behaviours based on the combination of variables in the issue power balance and issue outcome, the result is a NEUTRAL behaviour. This implies that the weakness and strength of the Philippines' behaviour offset each other. The following table is an example of this:

Table 5: Weak and Strong Behaviours based on Issue Power Balance and Issue Outcome Resulting in Neutrality²⁰

Issue Power Balance	Issue Outcome	Weak Small State Behaviour	Strong small state Behaviour
Few Alternative	More Concession	√	
High Commitment	Achieved Objective		√

Such neutrality is deemed as a normal probability. This happens when the issue power balance fluctuated during the course of a bilateral dispute, which does not result in a fully

¹⁹ This table is similar to Table 1. This was originally created by the author for this study.

²⁰ An example made by the author.

favourable nor completely detrimental issue outcome for the Philippines towards another small state. In effect, the conclusion of the bilateral dispute produces no 'clear winner.'

Based on these, the initial estimation of the Philippines' behaviour at the conclusion of each case can be WEAK, STRONG, or NEUTRAL depending on the variables in the issue power balance and issue outcome. Either one of these results shall serve as the *behavioural point of reference*, also known as the "initial estimation of its behaviour." Essentially, this will provide the preliminary basis of this study's assessment on the overall behaviour of a small state towards another in a given case.

2. Identify "impact of discrete external behaviour" of the Philippines: Reinforcement or Regression

As the initial basis for evaluation, the behavioural point of reference is also affected by other discrete external behaviours that the Philippines' exhibited during the case. These external behaviours are either situation-based approach/attitude or actor-based action/reaction. Each behaviour either *reinforce* or *regress* from its behavioural point of reference.

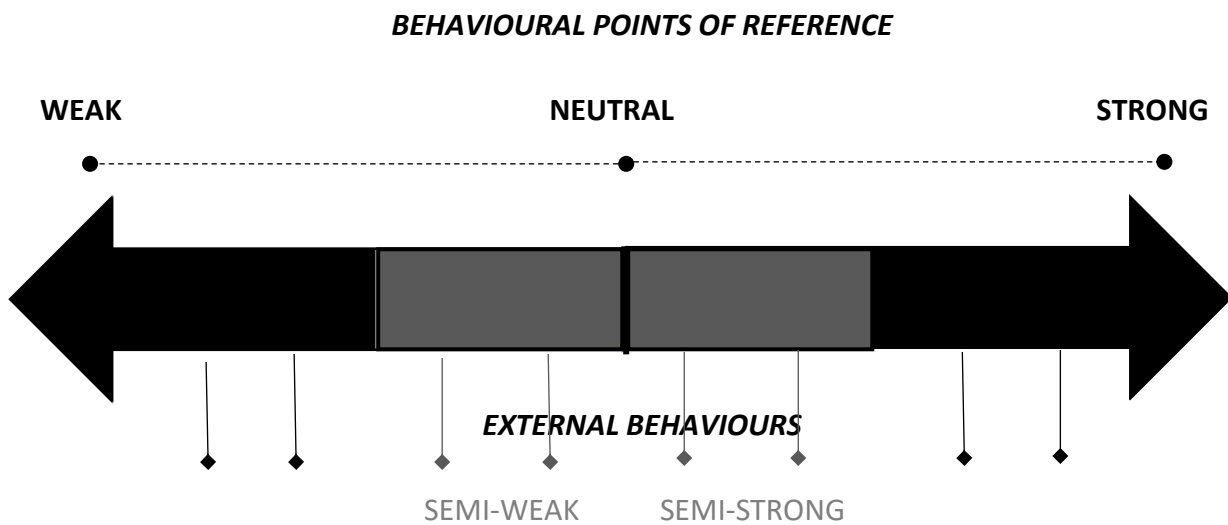
The impact of these reinforcement and regression on the behavioural point of reference is visually illustrated in the "behavioural spectrum." In this spectrum, a reinforcement from the discrete external behaviour expands the scope of the behavioural point of reference; while a regression breaks out from this range.

Generally, this regression reflects the gradations of the behavioural point of reference. As such, these gradations result in a SEMI-WEAK or SEMI-STRONG behaviours implying partial or some degree of weakness or strength respectively. The more the regression, the range of the semi-weak or semi-strong gradation expands. Thus, these regressions essentially reflect the nuances behind the Philippines' behaviour, which suggests the probability of it neither possessing a completely weak nor a fully strong behaviour.

3. Establish the "overall behaviour" of the Philippines: Using the Behavioural Spectrum

The figure below visually presents the connection between the behavioural points of reference and the external behaviours that will determine a small state's overall behaviour:

Figure 6: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum to determine the Overall behaviour of a small state²¹



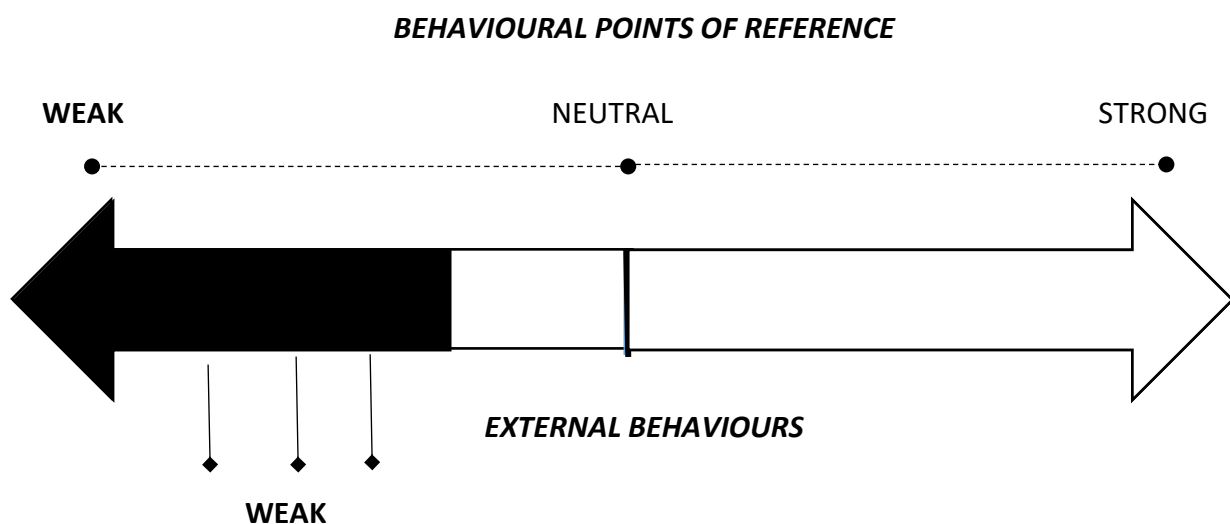
At the top of this figure, the behavioural points of reference include weak (leftmost), neutral (centre), or strong (rightmost) indicating the initial estimation of the Philippines' behaviour. In the figure's behavioural spectrum, the discrete external behaviours shall be identified, which are represented by arrows pointing downwards. Each of these external behaviours either reinforces or regresses from any of the behavioural points of reference.

²¹ This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study to determine a small state's overall behaviour.

Arriving at a WEAK overall behaviour:

If there are external behaviours that *reinforce* the WEAK behavioural point of reference, there will be arrows pointing downwards located in the weak panel (black shade) in the behavioural spectrum. This means that each of the external behaviour amplifies the initial “weak” assessment of the small state’s behaviour. The more there are external behaviours that reinforce the weak behavioural point of reference, the more the weak panel expands in the behavioural spectrum. This shall then become the country’s overall behaviour. This is reflected in the behavioural spectrum below:

Figure 7: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum with a WEAK overall behaviour of a small state²²

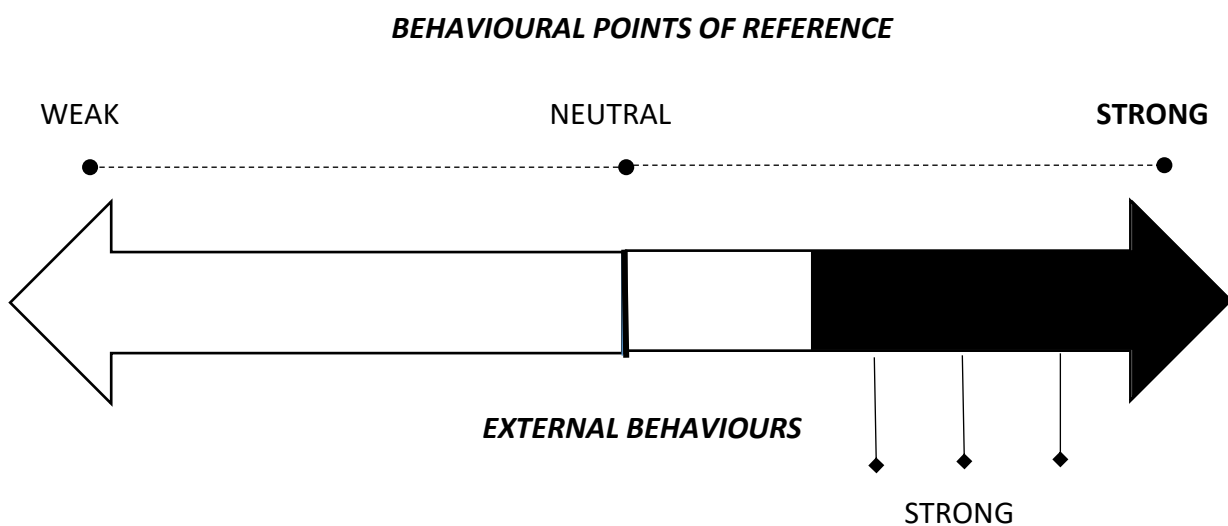


²² This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study that results in a small state’s overall WEAK behaviour.

Arriving at a STRONG overall behaviour:

If there are external behaviours that *reinforce* the STRONG behavioural point of reference, there will be arrows pointing downwards located in the strong panel (black shade) in the behavioural spectrum. This means that each of the external behaviour bolsters the initial “strong” assessment of the small state’s behaviour. The more there are external behaviours that reinforce the strong behavioural point of reference, the more the strong panel expands in the behavioural spectrum. This shall then become the country’s overall behaviour. This is reflected in the behavioural spectrum below:

Figure 8: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum with a STRONG overall behaviour of a small state²³

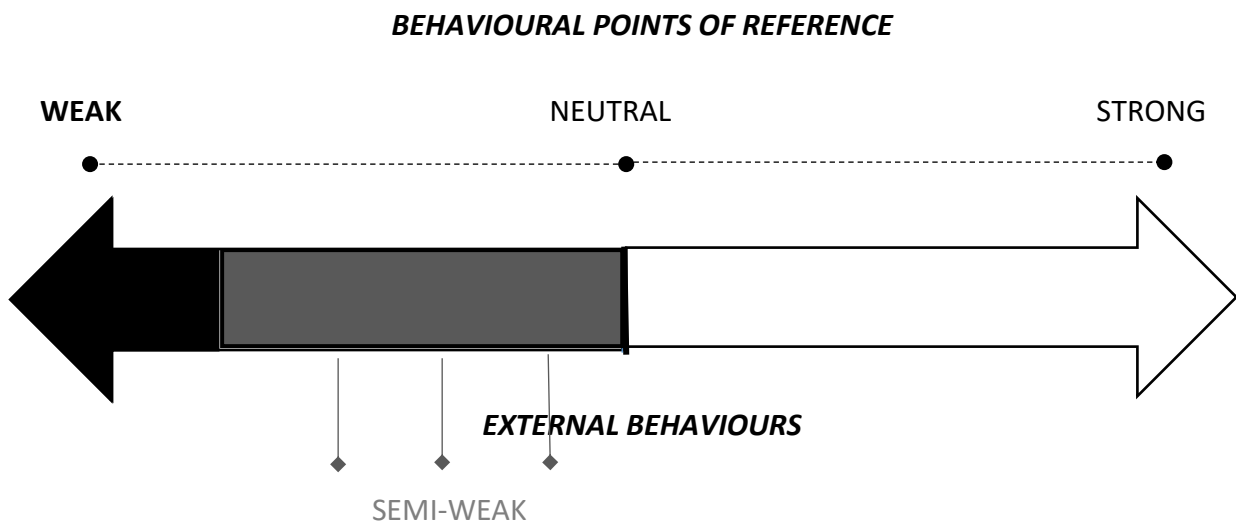


²³ This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study that results in a small state’s overall STRONG behaviour.

Arriving at a SEMI-WEAK overall behaviour:

If there are external behaviours that *regress* from the weak behavioural point of reference, there will be arrows pointing downwards located in the semi-weak panel (grey shade) in the behavioural spectrum. This means that each of the external behaviour reduces the degree of the initial “weak” assessment of the small state’s behaviour. The more there are external behaviours that regress from the weak behavioural point of reference, the more the semi-weak panel expands in the behavioural spectrum. This shall then become the country’s overall behaviour. This is reflected in the behavioural spectrum below:

Figure 9: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum with a SEMI-WEAK overall behaviour of a small state²⁴

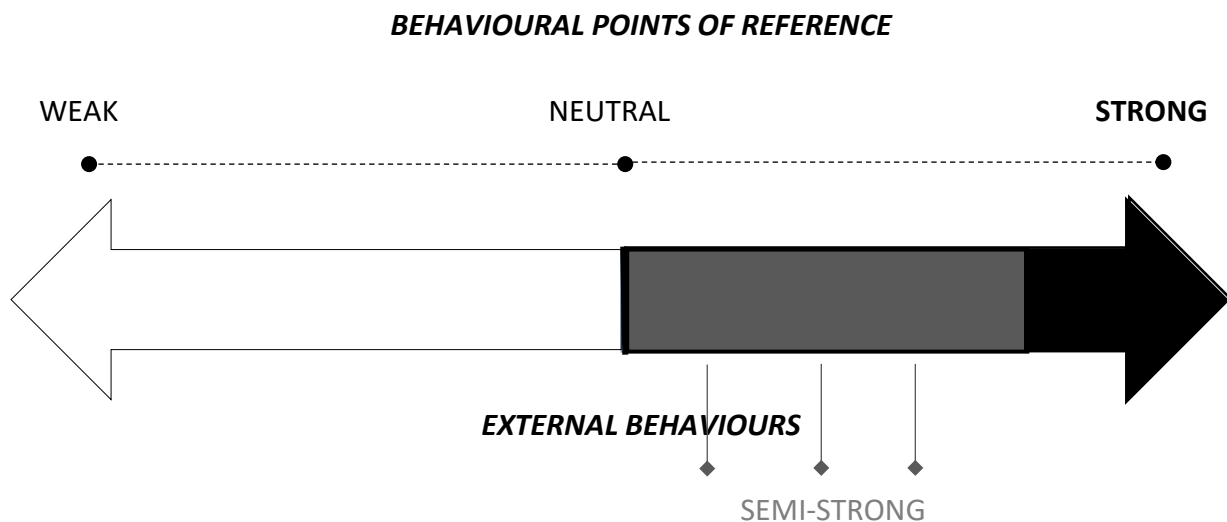


²⁴ This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study that results in a small state’s overall SEMI-WEAK behaviour.

Arriving at a SEMI-STRONG overall behaviour:

If there are external behaviours that *regress* from the strong behavioural point of reference, there will be arrows pointing downwards located in the semi-strong panel (grey shade) in the behavioural spectrum. This means that each of the external behaviour lessens the degree of initial “strong” assessment of the small state’s behaviour. The more there are external behaviours that regress from the strong behavioural point of reference, the more the semi-strong panel expands in the behavioural spectrum. This shall then become the country’s overall behaviour. This is reflected in the behavioural spectrum below:

Figure 10: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum with a SEMI-STRONG overall behaviour of a small state²⁵



²⁵ This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study that results in a small state’s overall SEMI-STRONG behaviour.

In the event of a NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference...

In the instance that a NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference is identified, the external behaviours are expected to produce *regressions* or gradations toward either a SEMI-WEAK or a SEMI-STRONG overall behaviour. A NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference happens when there are both weak and strong behaviours reflected by a small state at the conclusion of the case as previously mentioned.

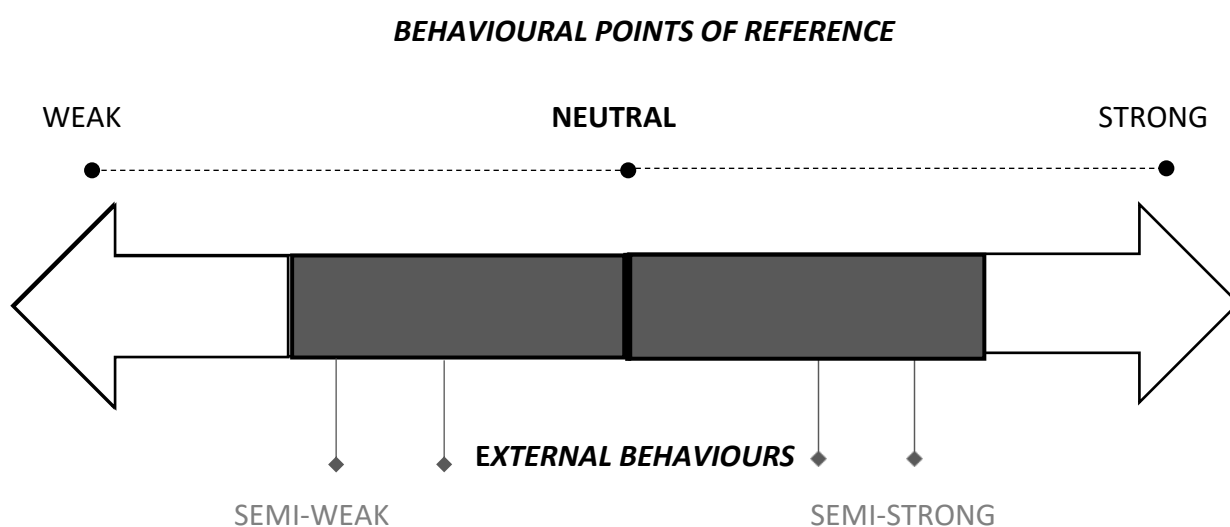
Such neutrality is considered the initial estimation of a small state's behaviour, which is rather vague. Thus, the various external behaviours that the small state exemplified during the course of the case shall determine its overall behaviour. These external behaviours will likely result in either a SEMI-WEAK or a SEMI-STRONG overall behaviour.

If an external behaviour is considered weak, the regression from the NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference is placed in the semi-weak panel (grey shade). The more there are weak external behaviour, the more the semi-weak panel expands.

If an external behaviour is considered strong, the regression from the NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference is placed in the semi-strong panel (grey shade). The more there are strong external behaviour, the more the semi-strong panel expands.

These incidences shall then result in a semi-weak or semi-strong overall behaviour of a small state based on a neutral behavioural point of reference as reflected in the behavioural spectrum in the following page:

Figure 11: Illustrated model of a behavioural spectrum with a NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference resulting in a SEMI-WEAK or SEMI-STRONG overall behaviour of a small state²⁶



²⁶ This behavioural spectrum is an original illustration made by the author for this study that results in a small state's overall SEMI-WEAK or SEMI-STRONG behaviour from a NEUTRAL behavioural point of reference.

4.3 Case Studies

To operationalize the concepts mentioned above, this section presents the following five cases involving the Philippines and other small states.

1. The Philippines' Deportation of Taiwanese Suspects to China
2. The Philippines' Political Clash with Taiwan over Fisherman's Death
3. The Philippines' Interaction with Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff
4. The Philippines' Petition to Save the Life of Filipino Worker in Indonesia
5. The Philippines' Diplomatic Row with Kuwait over Filipino Workers

As a recap from the previous discussion, each of the cases highlights the following sections:

1. *Discussion of the case.* This provides a narrative of the issue between the Philippines and the other small state.
2. *Evaluation of the Philippines' behaviour.* This establishes the initial estimation of its behaviour based on the issue power balance and issue outcome at the conclusion of each case. It also identifies the discrete external behaviours demonstrated by the Philippines towards another small state during the case.
3. *Assessment on the Philippines' overall behaviour.* This is composed of three procedures:
 - a. Determine the "initial estimation" of the Philippines' behaviour based on its behavioural point of reference, which can be WEAK, STRONG, or NEUTRAL.
 - b. Identify the "impact of discrete external behaviour" of the Philippines, which can either be a reinforcement or regression from its behavioural point of reference. In the case of regressions, the impact of the country's discrete external behaviours can possibly point to either a SEMI-WEAK or a SEMI-STRONG behaviour.
 - c. Establish the "overall behaviour" of the Philippines, which is derived from the initial estimation of its behaviour and the impact of its discrete external behaviours as illustrated in the behavioural spectrum. The result of the Philippines' overall behaviour towards another small state in a specific case can either be WEAK or STRONG, or its respective gradations of SEMI-WEAK or SEMI-STRONG.

4.3.1 The Philippines' Deportation of Taiwanese Suspects to China December 2010- March 2011 (Aquino administration)

Background:

Upon the request of the Chinese government, the Philippine National Police arrested 14 Taiwanese along with 10 Chinese suspects on 27 December 2010. They were arrested for swindling USD 20.6 million through an internet scam that largely targeted mainland Chinese.

Issue:

The Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) in the Philippines demanded that its 14 nationals be deported to Taiwan. On 31 January 2011, it has secured writs of habeas corpus from the Court of Appeals (CA) of the Philippines to prevent the Taiwanese nationals' deportation so that they can personally appear on their case hearings scheduled on 2 February 2011. However on the same day, the Bureau of Immigration (BI) in the Philippines deported the Taiwanese together with their Chinese cohorts to China.

Taiwan's Reactions:

Taiwan's President Ma Ying-Jeou deemed the action of the Philippines as "wrongful deportation." He accused the Philippine government of "violating international law and time-honoured international practices" by failing to repatriate the 14 Taiwanese back to their home country after expelling them. Moreover, President Ma alleged that the Aquino administration had violated its own country's law when the Bureau of Immigration defied the writ of habeas corpus issued by the Court of Appeals and pushed through with the Taiwanese deportation to China.

Philippines' Justification:

The Manila Economic and Cultural Office (MECO) in Taiwan issued a statement saying that the suspects were deported to the mainland because "the crime was committed in China, the evidences is in China, all the victims are Chinese, and the case can be best settled in China (Porcalla 2011)." They were the subject of outstanding warrants of arrest and Interpol red notices for a "massive criminal modus operandi using internet and telecommunications devices to access their victims and extract money from them."

As per the Bureau of Immigration, the Taiwanese also failed to present their original passports and travel documents that would legally prove their nationality. Moreover, under the One-China policy to which the Philippines adheres to, Taiwan is considered a province of China. Thus despite the writ of habeas corpus, the BI decided to deport the Taiwanese to the mainland.

Aquino's Decision:

According to an anonymous source from the Court of Appeals, the Bureau of Immigration blatantly defied the Court's decision upon instructions from the president. Based on this insider's account published in the *Manila Times* (Canlas 2011), the Aquino administration allegedly deported the Taiwanese to the mainland as a "peace offering" to China over the bus hostage fiasco in Manila in August 2010.²⁷ His decision was also deemed as an attempt to hopefully persuade the Chinese government to stop the execution of three Filipinos for drug trafficking scheduled on 20 February 2011.²⁸

Taiwan's Demands and Sanctions:

President Ma demanded a formal apology from the Philippines regarding the incident and recalled its Taiwanese Representative in Manila as a sign of protest. When it failed to obtain an apology, Taiwan carried out punitive measures on 7 February 2011 against the Philippines. It cancelled a visa-waiver arrangement for certain categories of Filipino tourists who want to visit Taiwan. It also implemented stricter screening of applications by Filipinos seeking to work in Taiwan; and made visa processing for Filipino workers longer, from 12 days to 4 months. Moreover, the Taiwanese government considered to implement a freeze hiring of Filipinos if the Philippines "did not fully meet Taiwan's expectations" (Wang 2011).

²⁷ A disgruntled former Philippine National Police officer hijacked a tourist bus in Luneta Park, Manila on 23 August 2010, which left eight Hong Kong tourists dead. The incident caused outrage in Hong Kong and was largely condemned by the Chinese government in the mainland. The Aquino administration was criticized for its 'bungled' and 'incompetent' handling of the hostage crisis; and exposed the Philippine National Police's lack of planning and strategy for negotiating with the hostage-taker.

²⁸ The Chinese government agreed to postpone the execution of the three Filipinos on 20 February 2011, a few weeks after the Philippines deported the Taiwanese suspects to China. But eventually, China executed them via lethal injection on 31 March 2011.

Philippine Response:

Aquino has tapped former senator Mar Roxas as emissary in his private capacity "to fully explain the rationale behind the Philippines' action to Taiwanese officials." Roxas met with President Ma on 22 February 2011 but did not apologize on behalf of the Philippines, explaining that his mission was only to "seek for understanding." The Philippine government argued that it need not apologize because of the "one China policy" and that it believed "in the process that they undertook (Legaspi 2011)."

Case Outcome:

On 10 March 2011, Taiwan lifted its sanctions after the Philippine government replaced its immigration officials involved in the deportation case. In addition, the Philippines and Taiwan signed the "Agreement on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters" in 2013. The Agreement provides the basis of bilateral cooperation to fight crimes and protect the interests of citizens in both countries.

Evaluation of the Philippines' Behaviour on the Taiwanese Deportation Case

The Philippines had to do diplomatic troubleshooting to pacify Taiwan over the deportation case and displayed strong control of the situation. It sent a special envoy to "explain its actions" and to "seek for understanding." As a sovereign nation, the Philippines stood its ground and did not apologize to the Taiwanese government due to its adherence to the "one-China policy." Despite Taiwan's punitive actions, there was no position change for the country, with its firm stance not to offer an official apology.

In a discussion with Interviewee 1,²⁹ she argued that: "If we apologized, then that would be tantamount to admitting that we made a wrong decision in deporting the Taiwanese to China." Meanwhile, for Interviewee 2³⁰ a senior foreign affairs analyst working in a government research institution: "the Philippines' refusal to apologize does not mean anything beyond what is expected: for one, it reflects a firm and decisive stance on the

²⁹ Interview with a Member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at the Philippine House of Representatives in November 2018.

³⁰ Interview with a senior foreign affairs analyst working in a government research institution in November 2018.

deportation decision; secondly, it adheres to the One China Policy; and lastly, it was an exercise of sovereignty.”

In lieu of an apology, *the Philippines dismissed the immigration officials involved in the case as a political alternative to appease Taiwan*. The Taiwanese government eventually viewed such action as a form of apology, with the Philippines showing “goodwill and regret.” As a result, the Taiwanese government immediately lifted its sanctions. With Taiwan accepting this political gesture, *this save the Philippine government from further giving concessions*.

In both instances, the Philippines displayed an initial estimation of a STRONG behaviour relative to Taiwan. This was exhibited at the conclusion of the case over its deportation of Taiwanese nationals to China. However, the Philippines’ conduct in various instances also affect its overall behaviour. The following are the approaches, attitude, and actions of the Philippines during the case:

1. Inconsistent and Reactive Approach of the Philippines due to its political institutions

When the Court of Appeals issued the writs of habeas corpus, the Bureau of Immigration disregarded it. Professor Edgardo Dagdag (2011) of the University of the Philippines raised questions that cast doubts over the legitimacy of the immigration officials’ actions. “Why were they deported even before the hearings on the case could start? Why the haste?” According to Congressman Antonio Diaz (2011) of the Philippine House of Representatives, the Bureau’s disregard of the Court’s decision “is an insult to a lawful order from the Appellate Court, a contempt of the Philippine constitutional guarantee of due process, and an affront to the integrity of the country’s judicial system.”

The contradicting decisions between the judicial and executive branches of the Philippine government reveals its fragmented political institutions. This consequently brings about bureaucratic inconsistencies in addressing the case. According to Interviewee 2: “There was no consistency in the interpretation/application of Philippine laws. It was as if the government is contradicting itself and does not show a unified stance.”

In addition, the Bureau of Immigration’s decision to deport the Taiwanese to the mainland based on the “one-China” policy is deemed unconvincing. According to the report

by the Philippine House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs (2011), "the deportation is a judicial and legal issue. As such, it has very little bearing on our foreign policy or on our adherence to the One-China Policy." Congressman Diaz (2011) went so far as to say that "it is a cockeyed policy which makes us the victim of our own policy." Moreover, the allegations that the Aquino administration is invoking the One-China policy to appease China, reflects the 'politicization' of what is supposed to be a legal decision.

In this regard, such ad-hoc political decision imposed on the Bureau of Immigration by the executive branch of the Philippine government reveals its less institutionalized mechanisms and protocol in dealing with Taiwan. Thus, the country manifests a *reactive approach* due to the absence of standard guidelines, constraining it to act judiciously on issues related to Taiwan that may impinge on relations with China. While the Philippines may have stood its ground in deporting the Taiwanese to the mainland, its approach and its institutional inconsistencies have diminished its strong demeanour.

2. Compounded approach of the Philippines due to Aquino's complex global perceptions

Aside from invoking the One-China Policy, Aquino was deemed to have decided to deport the Taiwanese to the mainland for the purpose of appeasing China (for the bus hostage crisis in Manila) and to gain favour from it (for the revocation of the death penalty of Filipino drug traffickers). Presumably, if not for his administration's instruction to the Bureau to deport the Taiwanese to the mainland, the case would have been properly addressed by the court. Ultimately, he gave in to China's request to get custody over the Taiwanese suspects. According to Canlas (2011), an anonymous source from the Court of Appeals claimed that the reason why the Philippines gave in to Chinese request for the Taiwanese deportation was because "it is afraid of China."

Aquino's decision reflected a more complicated and nuanced global outlook when he associated current issues at hand with other external matters. This was evident in his attempt to balance Philippine interests with Taiwan and China. In this case, Aquino's complex global perception of external issues influenced his assessment on the country's interests. According to Interviewee 1: "as the president, Aquino is tasked to make judgments and redefine priorities on a case-by-case basis, which exposes his multifaceted international outlook."

This tends to result in a more *compounded approach* for the Philippines brought about by Aquino's multiple diplomatic considerations. His 'fearless' decision to deport the Taiwanese in effect revealed his alleged 'fear' of the Chinese. This consequently exposed the Philippines' vulnerable position, which essentially diminished the credibility of its 'strong' stance to deport the Taiwanese.

3. Impassioned attitude of the Philippines due to its national interests concerning Filipino workers

Without getting an apology, the Taiwanese government carried out punitive measures affecting Filipino workers. Roxas made an appeal to the Taiwanese officials to spare the Filipino workers bound for Taiwan: "Should you push through with your plan to freeze the hiring of Filipino workers, please spare the batch of 5,000 Filipinos who had just completed their requirements. They spent so much just to get a job in Taiwan. Many of them even had to borrow money just to pay placement fees (GMA News 2011)." With Roxas' appeal, the Philippines was deemed to have projected an *impassioned attitude* towards the Taiwanese government, given that its sanctions affected the welfare of overseas Filipino workers. Such appeal was deemed to have exposed the Philippines' vulnerability. To a certain extent, this diminished the Philippines' strong posture towards Taiwan regarding the deportation case.

4. Persuasive action of the Philippines due to its diplomatic power capabilities

With Taiwan's threat of freeze hiring Filipino workers, the Philippine government took action to resolve the issue by replacing the immigration officials involved in the case. Without the Philippines offering a formal apology, Taiwan viewed such action as an expression of regret. According to Interviewee 3³¹: "despite the denial of the Aquino administration, this was intended to appease Taipei and took into account the sensitivities of the Taiwanese." As a result, the Taiwanese government immediately lifted its sanctions. Such persuasive action undertaken by the Philippines was deemed to have brought about its strong behaviour.

³¹ Interview with an officer of a non-government think tank in the Philippines in November 2018.

Assessment on the Philippines' Overall Behaviour towards Taiwan Over the Deportation Case

The first table below summarizes an initial estimation on the Philippines' behaviour towards Taiwan. Based on the evaluative measures using issue power balance and issue outcome, the conclusion of the case reveals that the Philippines' displayed an initial estimation of a STRONG behaviour. This represents its behavioural point of reference.

Table 6: The Philippines' Initial Estimation of STRONG Behaviour towards Taiwan over the Deportation Case³²

Issue Power Balance	Issue outcome	Weak Behaviour	Strong Behaviour
The Philippines displayed STRONG CONTROL by sending a special envoy to explain its actions and to seek for understanding	NO POSITION CHANGE for the Philippine due to its firm stance not to offer an official apology to Taiwan		✓
The Philippines used a POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE by dismissing its Immigration officials to appease Taiwan	NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS needed for the Philippines to resolve the deportation case		✓

The second table in the following page highlights the discrete external behaviours that have implications on the Philippines' strong behaviour. In particular, they are the situation-based approach and actor-based actions that the Philippines manifested during the case.

³² This table is a summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

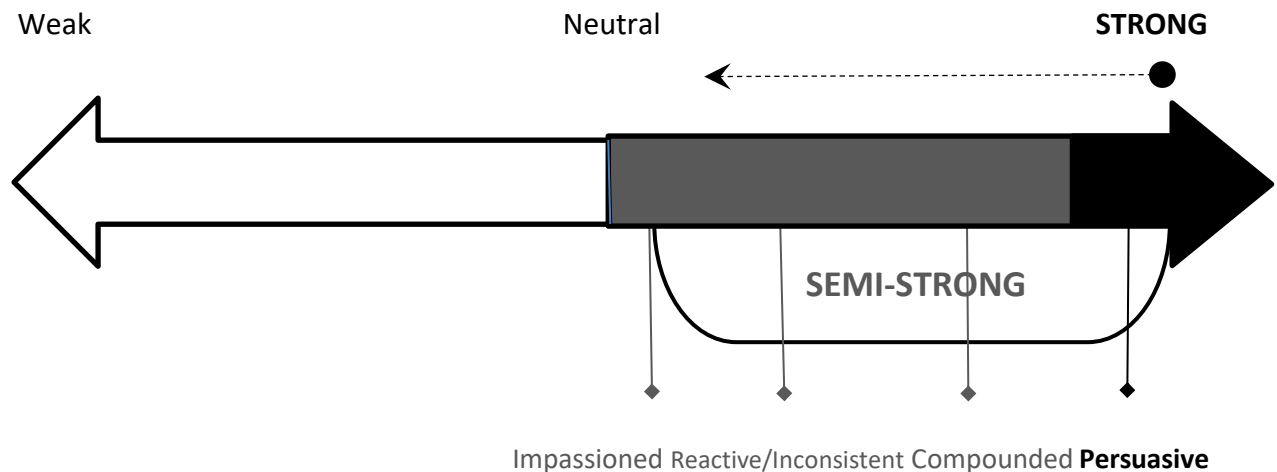
Table 7: The Philippines' External Behaviours Affecting its STRONG Behavioural Point of Reference towards Taiwan over the Deportation Case³³

External Behaviour		Details	Impact on behavioural point of reference
Situation-Based	Inconsistent and Reactive Approach	The Philippine Court of Appeals issued writs of habeas corpus, but its Bureau of Immigration disregarded it and deported Taiwanese nationals to China. This reduced its strong stance.	Regress from STRONG behavioural point
	Compounded Attitude	The Philippines' decision reflected Aquino's nuanced outlook when he associated current issue (Taiwanese deportation) with other matters (issues with China). This diminished its strong posture.	Regress from STRONG behavioural point
	Impassioned Attitude	The Philippines appealed to Taiwan not to push through with freeze hiring Filipino workers. This reflected its vulnerability and negatively affected its strong behaviour.	Regress from STRONG behavioural point
Actor-based	Persuasive Action	The Philippines replaced Immigration officials in lieu of a formal apology to Taiwan. This reinforced its strong behaviour.	Reinforced STRONG behavioural point

³³ This table is a summary of the Philippines' External Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

Based on the two tables, the Philippines on the whole generated a SEMI-STRONG behaviour towards Taiwan over the deportation case as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 12: The Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines' Resulting in an Overall SEMI-STRONG Behaviour towards Taiwan over the Deportation Case³⁴



At the end of the case, the Philippines projected an initial estimation of a STRONG behaviour towards Taiwan. Its *persuasive* action reveals its strength, 'reinforcing' its strong behaviour that is placed in the black panel. But during the case, other external behaviours cause 'regressions' from its STRONG behavioural point of reference, that are situated in the grey panel causing its wider expansion. The Philippines' *reactive and inconsistent* approach in handling the case and its *impassioned* attitude towards the threat of freeze hiring Filipino workers, diminished its strong position. Meanwhile, Aquino's *compounded* attitude also reduced the credibility of its strong stance in deporting the Taiwanese to the mainland due to Chinese influence. Because there are more external behaviours that negatively affected and regressed from its initial STRONG behaviour, the Philippines consequently displayed an OVERALL SEMI-STRONG behaviour towards Taiwan regarding the deportation case.

³⁴ This figure is the Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines that reflect its overall behaviour. This is an original illustration made by the author for this study.

4.3.2 The Philippines' Political Clash with Taiwan over Fisherman's Death May-August 2013 (Aquino administration)

Background:

The looming tensions between the Philippines and China over the Scarborough Shoal in 2013 compelled the Philippine Coast Guard (PCG) to be on high alert. It vigorously patrolled the country's territorial waters, particularly from any foreign intrusions such as navy ships, marine vessels, and fishing boats from other countries.

Issue:

Against this security context, the Philippine Coast Guard fired shots at a Taiwanese fishing boat, killing one of its fishermen, Hung Shih-cheng on 9 May 2013. It claimed that the shooting was a reaction to a threat against a Philippine patrol boat being rammed at within the country's exclusive economic zone. Philippine authorities maintained that the loss of the Taiwanese fisherman's life was "unintended." However, Taiwan rejected this explanation. It insisted that the 45 bullet holes discovered on the boat reflected a disproportionate response by the coast guards.

Taiwan's Demands:

On 11 May 2013, Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou immediately demanded an apology from the Philippines and requested financial compensation for the fisherman's family. He also demanded that criminal charges should be filed against the accused from the PCG, and insisted on a joint investigation of the case. He also pressed the Philippines to start negotiations for a fisheries agreement to avoid any future incidents at sea. President Ma gave the Philippine government 72 hours (May 11-14) to address Taiwan's five demands.

Philippine Response:

The Philippine Department of Justice (DOJ) turned down Taiwan's request to participate in the investigation and refused to meet with the Taiwanese investigators who arrived in Manila. The DOJ Secretary Leila de Lima said: "I don't think we can agree to a joint investigation because we're a sovereign country. We have our own processes. We have our own justice system (Orosa 2013)."

Meanwhile, Aquino had sent Manila Economic and Cultural Office (MECO) Chairman Amadeo Perez as his personal representative to "convey his and the Filipino people's deep regret and apology" to the fisherman's family. To avoid violating the Philippines' "One-China" policy, he avoided apologizing to the Taiwanese government. However, Taiwan dismissed the apology, claiming that it 'lacked sincerity.' The Taiwanese government also viewed Aquino's statement of "unintended loss of life" as unacceptable and premature when the investigation of the case has not been concluded. According to Taiwanese Premier Jiang Yi-huah: "This statement is one that we totally cannot accept. The Philippines apologized on one hand, but on the other emphasized that it wasn't an intentional act (Chung 2013)." This consequently provoked more negative sentiments in Taiwan.

Taiwan's Sanctions:

The Taiwanese government recalled its representative in Manila and requested its Filipino counterpart to leave Taipei. In a show of force, President Ma ordered naval exercises involving frigates, destroyers, and coast guard ships near the waters where the fisherman's murder took place. On 15 May 2013 (after the 72-hour deadline), the Taiwanese government issued a travel advisory warning its citizens against travelling to the Philippines, tightened its procedures for tourist visa applications of Filipinos, imposed a freeze on hiring Filipino workers intending to go to Taiwan, and suspended trade and academic exchanges with the Philippines.

Philippine Actions:

On 8 August 2013, MECO Chairman Perez met with Hung's family (the Taiwanese fisherman) and personally delivered a formal letter of apology on behalf of the Philippine president and the Filipino people. He also provided financial compensation to the family. Perez's visit to Taiwan comes after investigators in Manila recommended homicide charges against eight Philippine coast guard officers involved in Hung's death. After which, the Taiwanese government immediately lifted all its sanctions.

Case Outcome:

In August 2013, the Philippines released its investigation report and concluded that the coast guard officers used excessive force that resulted in Hung's death, which had "no

conclusive justification.” It then recommended to file homicide charges against the coast guard officers. Moreover, the report concluded that there was “no categorical proof” of the Taiwanese boat posing “an imminent or grave threat” to those aboard the Philippine patrol ships (Esmaguél 2013).

In November 2015, the Philippines and Taiwan eventually signed the *Agreement Concerning the Facilitation of Cooperation on Law Enforcement in Fisheries* which seeks to reduce the fisheries disputes between the two parties. An important provision in the agreement includes a one-hour advance notification that will be given to fisheries and coast guard agencies before law enforcement action is implemented against a fishing vessel from the other party believed to be operating illegally.

Evaluation of the Philippines’ Behaviour on the Taiwanese Fisherman’s Death

Three months after the shooting, the Philippines was able to comply with all of Taiwan’s demands, except for the joint investigation. It offered an apology to the fisherman’s family on behalf of the Philippine president, provided financial compensation, filed criminal charges against the coast guard officers, and established a fisheries agreement with Taiwan. Because the Taiwanese government was clear and firm in its demands, *the Philippines is left with few alternatives to consider.*

On the whole, *the Philippines has largely conceded to Taiwan, granting almost all of its demands.* Interviewee 4³⁵ noted that the country was generally deemed to be in a “more vulnerable position.” This was partly due to the Taiwanese government’s coercive stance, and partly because of the Philippine government’s ‘mishandling’ of the case. This ultimately resulted in a perceived “weak behaviour” of the Philippines relative to Taiwan.

However, *the Philippines displayed strong control by asserting its sole authority to conduct the investigation despite the various punitive actions from Taiwan. It did not waiver in its position as a sovereign state and strongly adhered to the “One-China policy.”* According to Interviewee 4: “I believe that no other country with sovereignty will agree to a joint investigation over an issue that squarely took place within one nation’s territory.” For

³⁵ Interview with Denise Suarez, lecturer at the New Era University in December 2018.

Interviewee 5,³⁶ “the Philippines in this case exhibited a firm stance, since it did not allow Taiwan to intervene in its own domestic legal processes.”

In separate instances, the Philippines displayed a weak posture on the one hand, and a strong stance on the other. This divergent evaluation puts the Philippines in a neutral position its interaction with Taiwan regarding the death of its fisherman. To expound on its initial NEUTRAL estimation of its behaviour, the following approach and reaction of the Philippines during the case are assessed:

1. Reactive Approach of the Philippines from its political institutions

After the shooting incident, the Philippine government immediately justified the coast guard’s action as an act of self-defence, and that Hung’s death was an “unintended loss.” However, such justification was perceived as premature amidst an ongoing investigation by Philippine authorities. According to Halpin (2013), “how could the Philippine government prejudge the Taiwan fishing boat as the aggressor and certify its ‘ramming’ into the PCG and the ‘unintended loss of life’, given that Manila’s investigation was not yet even completed?”

Such statement essentially raised legitimate concerns about the transparency and impartiality of the Philippine-based investigation. Its defensive statement manifested a very *reactive approach* by the Philippines in addressing the issue. It was deemed as a poor attempt by government authorities to evade responsibility for the tragedy, thus the country is deemed to have displayed poor judgment in responding to the case.

2. Acquiescent Reaction of the Philippines due to its military weakness and dependent economic relations with Taiwan

In a show of force, Taiwan displayed its military capabilities by organizing naval exercises and implementing various punitive measures against the Philippines. And more importantly, it imposed economic sanctions that affected Philippine trade and its overseas workers. According to Interviewee 4, “Taiwan in this case is the party coming on strong because its citizens have also trespassed on Philippine territory, but the Taiwanese government did not acknowledge such violation.”

³⁶ Interview with a senior analyst from a local foreign policy research centre in December 2018.

Taiwan's retaliatory measures resulted in an *acquiescent reaction* from the Philippines, which revealed its weakness. In its desire to appease the Taiwanese over the incident, the Philippine government took steps to satisfy Taiwan's demand and to normalize its relationship. The Philippines offered an apology and pressed charges against the PCG personnel. For Interviewee 6,³⁷ she observes that: "It seems that these efforts were meant to appease the outcry in Taiwan." But because of Taiwan's hard-line stance, the Philippines seemed to yield to its demands. As observed by Interviewee 6, "the homicide charges implied this. Though their response was deemed excessive resulting in Hung's death, the Philippine Coast Guards were merely patrolling and guarding Philippine waters, which was their mandate. They were unfortunately the sacrificial lambs to assuage Taiwan."

Assessment on the Philippines' Overall Behaviour towards Taiwan Over its Fisherman's Death

The first table below summarizes an assessment on the Philippines' behaviour towards Taiwan. Based on the evaluative measures using issue power balance and issue outcome, the conclusion of the case reveals that the Philippines exhibited both weak and strong behaviour that consequently reflected an initial estimation of a NEUTRAL stance. This represents its behavioural point of reference.

Table 8: The Philippines' Initial Estimation of NEUTRAL Behaviour towards Taiwan over the Fisherman's Death³⁸

Issue Power Balance	Issue outcome	Weak Behaviour	Strong Behaviour
The Philippines is left with FEW ALTERNATIVES because Taiwan was clear and firm in its demands	MOST CONCESSIONS were granted by the Philippines to meet Taiwan's demands	✓	
The Philippines displayed STRONG CONTROL by asserting its sole authority to conduct the investigation	NO POSITION CHANGE for the Philippines as it did not waiver in its adherence to the "One-China policy"		✓

³⁷ Interview with Marsha Gomez, Assistant Professor at the Philippine Normal University in December 2018.

³⁸ This table is a summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

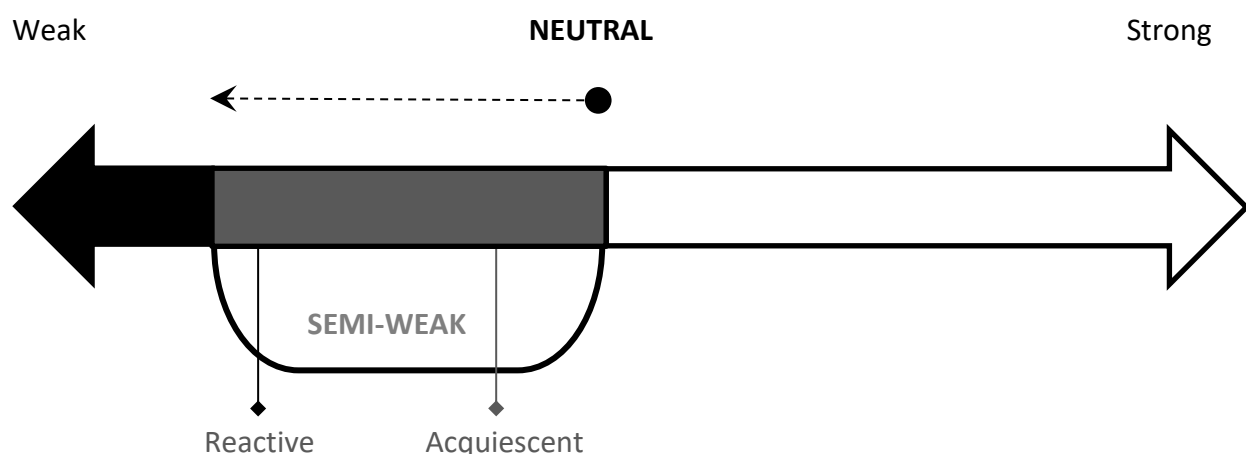
The second table below highlights the discrete external behaviours that can further elaborate on the Philippines' neutral behaviour. In particular, they are the situation-based approach and actor-based reactions that the Philippines exhibited during the case.

Table 9: The Philippines' External Behaviours affecting its NEUTRAL Behavioural Point of Reference towards Taiwan over the Fisherman's Death³⁹

External Behaviour		Details	Impact on Behavioural Point of Reference
Situation-Based	Reactive Approach	The Philippines justified the coast guards action as self-defence and pre-judged the fisherman's death as unintended. This reflected its weak judgment.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point
Actor-Based Reaction	Acquiescent Reaction	The Philippines gave in to Taiwan's demands after it launched military exercises and imposed economic sanctions. This revealed its weak and vulnerable stance.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point

Based on the two tables, the Philippines on the whole generated a SEMI-WEAK behaviour towards Taiwan regarding the case of its fisherman's death as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 13: The Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines' Resulting in an Overall SEMI-WEAK Behaviour towards Taiwan over the Fisherman's Death⁴⁰



³⁹ This table is a summary of the Philippines' External Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

⁴⁰ This figure is the Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines that reflect its overall behaviour. This is an original illustration made by the author for this study.

At the end of the case, the Philippines projected an initial estimation of a NEUTRAL behaviour towards Taiwan, which displayed both its strength and weakness. But during the case, its other external behaviours cause 'regressions' from its neutral behavioural point of reference. These external behaviours are placed in the grey panel, causing its expansion in the behavioural spectrum. Its *reactive* approach on the fisherman's death reflected its institutional prejudgment of the case, whereas its *acquiescent* reaction to Taiwan revealed its economic dependence and military weakness. Because of these external behaviours that negatively affected its initial neutral position, the Philippines consequently displayed an OVERALL SEMI-WEAK behaviour towards Taiwan regarding its fisherman's death.

4.3.3 The Philippines' Interaction with Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff February 2013- March 2013 (Aquino administration)

Historical Background:

During the late 17th century, the Sultanate of Brunei ceded Sabah (formerly known as North Borneo) to the Sultanate of Sulu in exchange for aid during a civil war in Brunei. In 1878, the British North Borneo Company (BNBC) took responsibility for the area after it signed an agreement with the Sultanate of Sulu. The historical controversy is whether the Sultanate leased it or sold it to the BNBC.

As the successor state, the Philippines maintains a 'dormant claim' on Sabah asserting that the Sultanate (and subsequently the Republic) had never relinquished its sovereignty over the territory. It contends that the Sultanate only leased Sabah to the BNBC and questioned the legality of the British Empire passing over Sabah to Malaysia when it gained its independence.

Meanwhile, Malaysia interprets the 1878 agreement as a 'sale' by the Sultanate of Sulu to the BNBC. It also argues that the residents of Sabah had exercised their right to self-determination when they joined to form the Malaysian federation in 1963. Since then, the Malaysian Embassy in the Philippines issues cheques for RM 5,300 annually to the heirs of the Sultan of Sulu in keeping with the terms of the agreement. While the Malaysian government considered it as annual cession payment, the Sultan's descendants regard it as 'rent.'

Issue:

On 11 February 2013, a total of 235 armed militants arrived by boats in Lahad Datu District, Sabah from Tawi-Tawi located south of the Philippines. They called themselves as the "Royal Security Forces of the Sultanate of Sulu and North Borneo," sent by Jamalul Kiram III, one of the claimants to the throne of the Sultanate. The group's intrusion resulted in a standoff for more than a month, with the governments of the Philippines and Malaysia negotiating with them for a peaceful surrender that eventually led to a military operation.

Kiram III stated that their objective was to assert the unresolved territorial claim of the Philippines. His group also demanded an increased in annual payments from Malaysia. He also mentioned that the Sultanate's exclusion from a peace deal signed between the

Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF),⁴¹ prompted his decision to send his armed group to Sabah. The provisional accord signed in October 2012, which Malaysia helped facilitate, seeks to establish a new autonomous region in southern Philippines to be administered by Muslims.

Philippine Reaction:

President Aquino declared that the renewed claim on Sabah by the Royal Sulu Army is not sanctioned by the Philippine government. He called the action of Kiram's men "foolhardy" and said their objective was "a hopeless cause (Aquino 2013)." He then appealed to Kiram to order his followers to return to the Philippines. In his speeches during the standoff, Aquino sided with Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak's hard-line policy on Kiram's men and praised Malaysia for its role as broker in the peace talks with the MILF.

Meanwhile, the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs expressed "grave concern" over the maltreatment of Filipinos in Sabah by Malaysian authorities. Amidst the standoff, it asked Malaysia for 'maximum tolerance' for the Sulu armed group, and the protection of many Filipinos living in the conflict area.

Malaysia's Action:

Prime Minister Razak said the armed Filipino clan should leave soon, and commanded the Malaysian security forces to surround Lahad Datu. "We will not let this issue prolong. We will do what it takes to defend the sovereignty of our country (Anis and Ong 2013)."

After several weeks of negotiations and unmet deadlines for the intruders to leave, the Malaysian government launched a major military operation on 1 March 2013. This was triggered by the killing of Malaysia's police members. Jets bombed the Lahad Datu area in Sabah with hundreds of Malaysian ground troops searching for members of the Royal Sulu army. On March 24, Malaysia declared an end to the conflict with the death of 10 Malaysian security forces, 56 Filipino militants and six civilians. The rest of these militants were either captured or escaped back to the Philippines.

⁴¹ The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is a group based in Mindanao, Philippines seeking an autonomous region of the Moro people from the central government.

Philippine Claim:

The military standoff renewed discussion over the Philippines' dormant claim and its policy regarding Sabah. Aquino announced that his administration would study its legitimacy, reflecting his uncertainties: "This issue is complex: from the basis of our claim, to the question of the rightful heirs, and even involving the translation of documents from an era when our grandparents weren't even born."

But following the incident, the Department of Foreign Affairs reminded all government agencies on 26 March 2013 not to refer to Sabah as part of Malaysia due to an existing Philippine claim. This was based on a Memorandum Circular 162 dated 20 August 2008 entitled "Guidelines on Matters Pertaining to North Borneo (Sabah)," stating that "no department, agency, or instrumentality of the Philippine Government shall make any act or statement expressing or implying, directly or indirectly, any recognition of a foreign state's sovereignty over North Borneo (Sabah) or non-recognition of Philippine title or historical and legal rights to the same (Orosa 2013)."

Case Outcome:

After the clash ended on 1 March 2013, hundreds of Filipino refugees fled to Mindanao, Philippines. There were more than 4,721 Filipinos who were displaced and arrived in Sulu, while 289 Filipinos fled to Tawi-Tawi after being deported from Sabah. Meanwhile, civil society groups in the Philippines filed petitions on 1 April 2013 at the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights against Malaysia's human rights violations. The two petitions expressed "grave concern on the massive and gross violations against Filipinos in Sabah" and reminded the government to "provide effective remedies and compensation to the Filipino victims of the massive and gross human rights violations committed against them by Malaysian state agents (Tordesillas 2013)."

Evaluation of the Philippines' Behaviour towards Malaysia on the Sabah Standoff

At the onset, the Philippine government's objective was for the Royal Sulu Army of Kiram to immediately leave Sabah peacefully to avoid any untoward incidents. However, it failed to convince the group to surrender and instead, a major military clash occurred led by the Malaysian security forces. The Sulu army's firm stance was brought about by perceptions

on the *Philippine government's low commitment to push for its historical claim on Sabah*. In effect, *the Philippines' objective of a peaceful retreat and the prevention of a military clash in Sabah did not materialize*.

Throughout the crisis, the Philippine government has to contend with various competing issues that constrained it to act decisively. In separate interviews, two policy analysts from local research organizations believe that the Philippines' took a more compliant stance towards Malaysia during the standoff. According to Interviewee 7,⁴² the Philippines' position was "for the continuation of the peace talks in Mindanao and the prevention of conflict escalation with Malaysia."

However, such compliant stance is perceived as "weakness" given the urgency of the situation. It also manifested the *Philippines' weak control, giving Malaysia the upper hand to manage the conflict*. According to Interviewee 8⁴³: "the lack of condemnation from the Philippine government against human rights abuses committed by Malaysian forces during the Sabah conflict, precisely reflects this weakness." *Its compliant stance towards Malaysia highlights the Philippines vague position on its Sabah claim, which continues to be inactive*. According to Interviewee 9,⁴⁴ the Philippines' displayed a WEAK behaviour, but it is important to note that "it has not held a strong posture regarding its claims on Sabah to begin with."

This weak behaviour of the Philippines is also reinforced by the following external conduct it displayed during the case:

1. Cooperative Attitude of the Philippines due to President Aquino's personal characteristics

Aquino is known for his positive engagements with the Malaysian government, especially on issues regarding the peace process with Muslim insurgents in the Philippines. Because of this, he led the Philippines with a very *cooperative attitude* towards Malaysia since the start of the Sabah standoff. This was deemed to have inadvertently weakened the country's stance on the case.

⁴² Interview with a policy analyst from a local research organization in January 2019.

⁴³ Interview with an associate professor in one of the universities in the Philippines in January 2019.

⁴⁴ Interview with a junior diplomat handling ASEAN affairs in January 2019.

Throughout the conflict, Aquino supported Malaysia's stance and blamed the Sulu militant group for their unwarranted actions. He viewed the group as the 'transgressors' and that the Malaysian government is justified in using all-out force. A civil society group noted that when Aquino "from day 1 gave publicly-aired ultimatums against the group and even threatened it of criminal prosecution, he was being in tune with Malaysian government's call on the sultanate's army to surrender (Salamat 2013)."

For Interviewee 10,⁴⁵ she perceives Aquino as very compliant towards Malaysia because the conflict in Sabah is a "very delicate issue, encompassing territorial as well as the safety of Filipinos." She believed that Aquino wanted to avoid further escalation of conflict, and prevent the possible "breakdown of relations between the Philippines and Malaysia." However, in its House Resolution Number no. 51 (2013), the Philippine Congress view Aquino's cooperative attitude as "pro-Malaysian and in effect adversarial on the Sultanate's acts of reclaiming Sabah."

2. Acquiescent Reaction of the Philippines due to Malaysia's military power capabilities and diplomatic/political leverage

During the military clash, observers have pointed out that the Philippine government has left the fate of the royal Sulu army in the hands of the Malaysian security forces. According to political activist Pagaduan- Araullo (2013): "the Aquino administration had virtually given the Malaysian government the green light to use coercive and armed means to end the stand-off and crush the militant group." And despite its initial appeal for "maximum tolerance," the Philippine government had to cope with various reports of human rights violations and abuses committed by the Malaysian security forces towards Filipinos caught in the conflict. According to Interviewee 7: "I think the Philippines could have asserted the applicability of international humanitarian law in this standoff. Malaysia's airstrike against the Filipino militants violates the principle of proportionality." But the projection of Malaysia's more superior military capabilities, which resulted in more deaths from the Sulu militant group, reduced the Philippines to take an *acquiescent reaction* over the incident.

⁴⁵ Interview with a government policy analyst from a local think tank in January 2019.

There were also reports that efforts of Philippine representatives to manage the Sabah crisis were dismissed by the Malaysian government. Sent to coordinate humanitarian relief efforts, former Philippine Ambassador to Malaysia Jose Brillantes was not given consent by the Malaysian authorities to visit Sabah. The Philippine government's requests for permissions to have access to Filipinos living in the affected area and to dock a Philippine navy boat to fetch them, were initially ignored by the Malaysians. For journalist Ellen Tordesillas (2013), "Malaysia treats the Philippines like dirt and Malacañang takes it with hardly a whimper."

In addition, the Philippines is perceived to have relegated its claim to the back burner to avoid confrontation with Malaysia or even antagonizing it in any way. This is due to the Philippines' dependence on Malaysia's critical diplomatic role as a facilitator in the peace process with the MILF. Since 2001, Malaysia has become the official Third Party Facilitator in the talks between the Philippine government and the MILF for the *Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro*, which seeks to provide guidelines on a peace agreement in Mindanao. This partly explains why the Aquino administration, more than his predecessors, is deemed to have no interest in supporting the Kirams in renewing the Philippines' claim to Sabah. The Philippine government would not want to displease or incur the ire of its Malaysian counterpart. For Pagaduan- Araullo (2013): "At the very least, it would appear to be an unpardonable act of ingratitude. At worst, Malaysia could retaliate and put the agreement in peril." Thus, the Philippines' *acquiescent reaction* during the Sabah crisis can also be attributed to Malaysia's significant role in the country's peace process.

3. Reactive Approach of the Philippines from its political institutions

The Sabah crisis has essentially manifested the Philippines' *reactive approach* brought about by its indifferent stance regarding its dormant claim on Sabah. Previous administrations of former Presidents Fidel Ramos and Joseph Estrada have since ordered to conduct studies regarding the basis and prospects of the Philippines' claims, without any concrete or at least published results. And after the crisis, the Aquino administration has also declared that it is 'still studying' the country's claim.

Filipino diplomats believe that the Philippine government has a solid claim to sovereignty over Sabah. According to retired Ambassadors Lauro Baja Jr. and Nelson Laviña

(2013): “To our minds, the legal situation is: the Philippines has had (de jure) sovereignty over Sabah since 1935. To resolve the issue, the Philippines invited Malaysia to the International Court of Justice, but Malaysia refused with the support of Britain. Thus, the Philippine claim became dormant but was not abandoned.”

However, the Philippine government has continued to display a lack of interest in the claims of the Sultanate. Though it has an existing guideline to all its agencies not to refer to Sabah as part of Malaysia, this may not hold much ground after the crisis. As stated by Interviewee 8: “I think the guidelines are important to strengthen the government’s position. However, it may not mean anything anymore after Malaysia decisively showed its control over Sabah.”

Other than this guideline, the Philippines has no clear policy stance on how to vigorously pursue its claim, taking into account all the geopolitical factors involved. For Consul General Hermes Dorado, former head of the Department of Foreign Affairs National Territory Division: “For half a century, Sabah has been one Malaysian obsession, and we’ve been out-manuevered. We are divided and we didn’t know our own country (Salamat 2013).”

Assessment on the Philippines’ Overall Behaviour towards Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff

The first table in the following page summarizes an assessment on the Philippines’ behaviour towards Malaysia. Based on the evaluative measures using issue power balance and issue outcome, the conclusion of the case reveals that the Philippines exhibited an initial estimation of a WEAK behaviour. This represents its behavioural point of reference.

Table 10: The Philippines' Initial Estimation of WEAK Behaviour towards Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff⁴⁶

Issue Power Balance	Issue outcome	Weak Behaviour	Strong Behaviour
The Philippines exhibited LOW COMMITMENT in pushing its claim on Sabah	MISSED OBJECTIVE for the Philippines to avoid a military clash in Sabah between the Sulu militants and Malaysian military	✓	
The Philippines' WEAK CONTROL during the Sabah standoff gave Malaysia the upper hand in managing the conflict	VAGUE POSITION of the Philippines regarding its inactive territorial claim resulted in Malaysia's default control over Sabah	✓	

The second table in the next page highlights the discrete external behaviours that reinforce the Philippines' weak behaviour. In particular, they are the situation-based attitude and approach, as well as actor-based reaction that the Philippines manifested during the case.

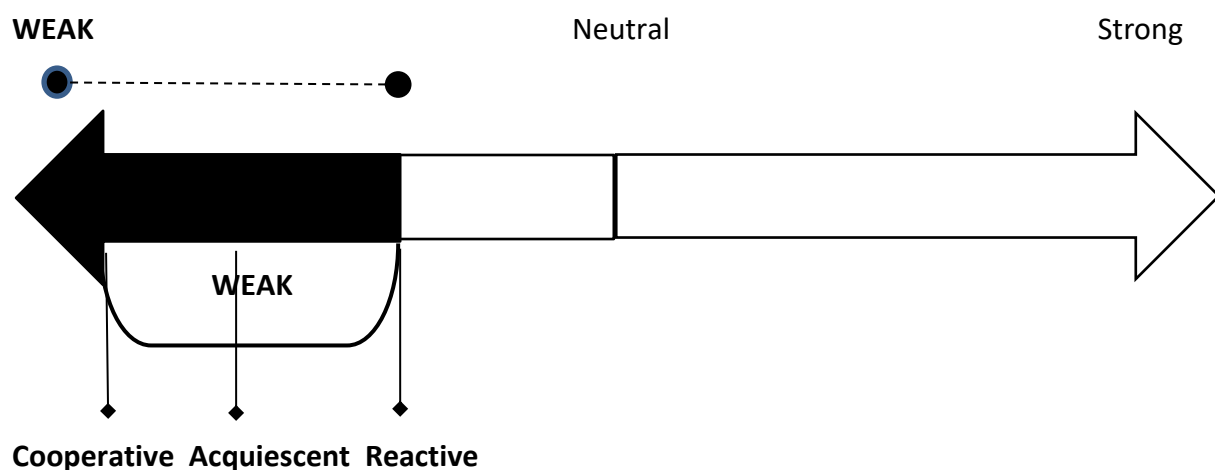
⁴⁶ This table is a summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

Table 11: The Philippines' External Behaviours Affecting its WEAK Behavioural Point of Reference towards Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff⁴⁷

External Behaviour		Details	Impact on Behavioural Point of Reference
Situation-Based	Cooperative Attitude	The Philippines led by Aquino supported Malaysia's actions and blamed the Sulu militants for the standoff, deemed as pro- Malaysia and adversarial to the Sultanate's effort to reclaim Sabah. This reinforced its weak stance.	Reinforce WEAK behavioural point
	Reactive Approach	The Philippines' unclear policy on its Sabah claims has reinforced its weak position during the standoff.	Reinforce WEAK behavioural point
Actor-Based	Acquiescent Reaction	The Philippines left the fate of the Sulu army to Malaysia with its more superior military capabilities and its diplomatic role as mediator in the Mindanao peace talks. This revealed its weak stance.	Reinforce WEAK behavioural point

Based on the two tables, the Philippines on the whole generated a WEAK behaviour towards Malaysia over the Sabah standoff as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 14: The Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines' Resulting in an Overall WEAK Behaviour towards Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff⁴⁸



⁴⁷ This table is a summary of the Philippines' External Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

⁴⁸ This figure is the Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines that reflect its overall behaviour. This is an original illustration made by the author for this study.

At the end of the case, the Philippines projected an initial estimation of a WEAK behaviour towards Malaysia. And even during the case, its other external behaviours further 'reinforced' its weak behavioural point of reference. These external behaviours are plotted in the black panel, causing its expansion in the behavioural spectrum. This was reflected in Aquino's *cooperative* attitude that is deemed as pro-Malaysian, the government's *reactive* approach on its Sabah claims, and the country's *acquiescent* reaction towards Malaysia during the military clash. Because of these external behaviours that bolstered its weak position, the Philippines consequently displayed an OVERALL WEAK behaviour towards Malaysia during the Sabah standoff.

4.3.4 The Philippines' Petition to Save the Life of Filipino Worker in Indonesia April 2015- ongoing (Aquino- Duterte administration)

Background:

Indonesia has one of the world's toughest anti-drug laws. Since taking office in 2014, Indonesian President Joko Widodo has claimed that the nation is facing a "drug emergency." He called for severe punishments against drug traffickers and rejected any clemency for those convicted. Under Widodo's administration, there were already 14 drug convicts executed, most of them were foreigners.

Mary Jane Veloso, a Filipino worker, was arrested in Yogyakarta International Airport in April 2010 for carrying heroin in her luggage. Throughout her trial, she maintained her innocence, claiming that she was duped by an international criminal syndicate and unknowingly brought drugs on her way to work as a maid in Indonesia.

Issue:

Veloso was eventually sentenced to death for drug trafficking. President Widodo earlier rejected appeals for clemency, maintaining that countries with nationals facing death sentences in Indonesia should respect the 'supremacy' of its laws. Veloso's case was put into spotlight when she was scheduled to be executed by firing squad on 29 April 2015.

Filipino Public's Response:

The news about Veloso's scheduled execution caused an uproar in the Philippines. Filipinos made public and online petitions to spare the life of Veloso. Migrant groups held vigils outside the Indonesian embassy in Manila, pleading to stop her execution. Majority of Filipinos condemned her death sentence and demanded the Philippine government to do everything it can to stop her execution.

Philippine Government's Actions:

With mounting pressures from the Filipino public, the Philippines made numerous appeals to save Veloso. It filed several requests for judicial review on Veloso's case and pleaded to commute her sentence to life imprisonment. It also cited the ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (MLAT), an important treaty that aims to fight transnational crimes in the

region. At the last minute, the Philippine government invoked this treaty and notified Indonesia that it had custody over Veloso's recruiters who were allegedly involved in human trafficking and drug smuggling. It then requested Indonesian authorities to spare Veloso so she can testify as a witness in these illegal activities.

Aquino's Appeal:

Aquino has since written four letters to President Widodo and personally lobbied for Veloso's life in several meetings with him. At the eleventh hour before Veloso's scheduled execution, Aquino made a phone call and talked directly to the Foreign Minister of Indonesia. This was considered a breach in normal diplomatic protocol when state leaders are supposed to directly talk with their counterparts. In that last-minute phone call, Aquino requested the Indonesian Foreign Minister to stop the execution of Veloso and turn her into a state witness to pin down the drug trafficking syndicate that victimized her.

Indonesia's Response:

After Aquino's phone call and hours before Veloso's scheduled execution, the Indonesian government granted her a temporary reprieve. It announced that the deferment of Veloso's execution was for her to testify against members of the criminal syndicate who victimized her. While it continued with the execution of other foreign nationals convicted of drug trafficking, the Indonesian government explained that its decision to delay the execution of Veloso was to fully ascertain if she was just a mule, and not a drug dealer.

Case Status:

President Widodo insisted that Veloso's death sentence was "not a cancellation but a postponement." He maintained that her fate would depend on prevailing laws in Indonesia and how the Philippine court would rule on the case against her recruiters.

In contrast to Aquino's vigorous efforts, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte meanwhile admitted that he felt awkward about "begging" President Widodo to spare Veloso's life. Because of his hard line stance against illegal drugs, Duterte announced that he would be ready to accept Indonesia's decision about the case and "we will respect the

judgement of its courts. We will honour what the laws are in their country. We will not impose. We will not demand. Nothing. (Kabilang 2016)."

In January 2018, the Philippine court barred efforts to secure Veloso's testimony in Indonesia, stating that this would violate the constitutional rights of the accused. Such right entitles her alleged recruiters to confront Veloso in person. However, the Indonesian government does not allow foreign convicts to temporarily leave the country even for the purpose of providing testimonies, and also prohibits deposition via online video-conferencing. In the end, Indonesia may eventually revoke Veloso's temporary reprieve from death row, and proceed with her execution if there will be no significant developments in her case.

Evaluation of the Philippines' Behaviour towards Indonesia on Veloso's Death Penalty

The decision of the Indonesian government to grant Veloso a last-minute suspension of her execution, is considered a temporary victory for the Philippines. Amidst fervent public clamour, *the Philippine government exhibited strong commitment to save Veloso*. As a result, *it was able to achieve its objective to keep her alive* (albeit temporarily pending her ongoing case) through effective diplomacy. *Instead of conceding her fate to the death penalty, the Philippine government also explored an alternative solution to suspend Veloso's execution by convincing its Indonesian counterpart to make her as a state witness*. In both instances, the Philippines displayed "strong behaviour."

Though Veloso's case is still pending, the Philippines is credited for its success in persuading Indonesia to defer her execution. However, there are crucial factors that will adversely affect Veloso's ongoing case. The rules in the judicial systems in Indonesia and the Philippines will make it difficult for Veloso's legal team to defend her case. The change in the presidential administrations in the country is another important factor. These factors may likely result in Veloso's eventual death if there are no positive changes in her case.

In hindsight, the Philippines projected other external behaviours, which have implication on the initial estimation of its STRONG behaviour. The following are the attitude and reaction it exhibited during the case:

1. Impassioned attitude of the Philippines due to its national interests concerning Filipino workers

There was an overwhelming campaign among Filipinos to stop the execution of Veloso in Indonesia. Public emotions ran high as the scheduled execution drew near. For Interviewee 11,⁴⁹ “I think Filipinos would want to contribute in saving the life of their fellow Filipino by coming together and calling for the government to exhaust all efforts for justice to prevail.”

The emotional public sentiment among Filipinos over Veloso’s case resonates with the rest of the population who have to work overseas to earn a decent income. In a discussion with Interviewee 12⁵⁰, she perceives that “the strong reaction is caused by the frustration of Filipinos towards the situation of OFWs abroad, considering that most of which are forced to work in other countries because the work situation in the Philippines is not as economically rewarding compared to other countries.” And as observed by Interviewee 11, “I think as a nation, we put premium in the lives of our fellow Filipinos. I believe in the concept of *kababayan* where Filipinos empathize with fellow Filipinos, especially those in the vulnerable or marginalized sector. The profile of Veloso, a domestic helper who claimed to be a victim of trafficking, also appeals to the human emotions of Filipinos.”

Due to an emotional public clamour, the Philippines accordingly projected an *impassioned stance* to save Veloso’s life that enabled it to project a strong behaviour. According to Interviewee 13:⁵¹ “in any democratic society, public clamour is a determinant of how strong the Philippine government’s reaction will be.” This observation was similarly shared by Interviewee 12: “public opinion is a reminder for the government to protect the interests of its people. In particular, strong public opinion is a reflection of how Filipinos are watching the government on how it deals with issues that matter to them.”

2. Reactive Approach of the Philippines brought about by its political institutions

At the height of the Filipino’s public outcry, some observers criticized the government for waiting until Veloso’s scheduled execution to take swift actions. As argued by Interviewee 11: “I think the investigation should have initially identified Veloso as a victim so that the

⁴⁹ Interview with a Filipino peace and human rights advocate in February 2019.

⁵⁰ Interview with a Filipino social worker in February 2019.

⁵¹ Interview with a Filipino diplomat who was previously posted in Jakarta in February 2019.

police can pin down the alleged traffickers. If from the onset her case was seen as a drug trafficking case where she is a victim, then most likely she would not have been included in the death row. Though the government made efforts to spare her life, I think they could have acted ahead of time to save Veloso, even without strong pressure from the public.” In this case, the Philippine government projected a *reactive approach* on her case since her arrest in 2010, which essentially minimized its strong position.

3. Cooperative Attitude of the Philippines due to Aquino’s personal characteristics

Aquino was deemed to have strongly lobbied Veloso’s case to the Indonesian government as he placed primacy on the sanctity of human life. He did so with a very *cooperative attitude* based on his generally courteous and conciliatory personality, which enabled the Philippines to have a stronger chance to save Veloso. This was in contrast to Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott’s approach in his petition to spare the two Australian drug convicts on death row. He called on Indonesia to “reciprocate” Australia’s 1 billion aid package that it granted after the 2004 tsunami by sparing its citizens. According to Jakarta-based political commentator Paul Rowland (2015): “President Aquino doesn’t seem to be ‘shirtfronting’ the Indonesian government in the same way Tony Abbott did, so it got a more sympathetic reaction.” Eventually, the two Australians and all the other foreigners convicted of drug smuggling, were executed by firing squad except for Veloso.

4. Persuasive Actions of the Philippines brought about by its diplomatic power capabilities

The Philippines gave its determined efforts to save, or at least postpone, Veloso’s execution, with the combined efforts of the president and the government. It used positive diplomatic representation, with Aquino personally lobbying to President Widodo, which essentially manifested a strong behaviour. Aside from pleading sympathy, the Philippine government also proposed a legal approach to spare Veloso’s life. Interviewee 12 observes that “Aquino appealed to the Indonesian government by offering Veloso as a state witness, rather than persuading it to stop the execution without offering something in return.”

In addition, the Philippines also used symbolic means to convince Indonesia to postpone Veloso’s death sentence. It related the plight of overseas Filipino workers to many Indonesian citizens working abroad. In particular, Philippine civil society groups advocating

for migrant workers' welfare tapped on the affinity many Indonesians feel in Veloso's case. For Indonesian political analyst Yohanes Sulaiman (2015): "The Mary Jane Veloso narrative as a foreign worker being duped hits very close to home. It is also similar to the plight of Indonesian workers in Saudi Arabia." This drew widespread public sympathy in the country, since her story resonated with many Indonesians: "her peculiar circumstance of being a credible victim of human trafficking plus the human side of her being a young, poor mother of little boys forced by poverty to work abroad (Holmes 2016)." As a result, the Philippines' diplomatic and symbolic approaches were regarded as *persuasive actions* that succeeded in saving Veloso.

5. Conclusive approach of the Philippines due to Duterte's clear-cut global perceptions

The change in the presidential administration in the country implies a shift in the government's outlook regarding Veloso's case. In particular, Aquino's adherence to morality and human rights vis-à-vis Duterte's commitment to the rule of law and respect for a country's sovereignty, may diminish the Philippines' resolve to conclusively spare Veloso from Indonesia's death penalty. As explained by Interviewee 12: "such contrast revealed how diplomatic actions can be influenced by the different political views of state leaderships in the Philippines."

With his own anti-narcotics campaign, Duterte's cold treatment of Veloso's case reveals his clear-cut and straightforward stance that anyone involved in illegal drugs should be punished. In contrast to Aquino, this reveals Duterte's less-nuanced global outlook, with a worldview emphasizing less on morality in determining or judging state actions. Thus, Duterte consigns the fate of Veloso into the hands of Indonesia's justice system and its prevailing laws, minus the moral considerations. This consequently brings about a *conclusive approach* for the Philippines--- a significant change in its political stance regarding Veloso's case, which will likely diminish its strong position.

Assessment on the Philippines' Overall Behaviour towards Indonesia on Veloso's Case

The first table below summarizes an assessment on the Philippines' behaviour towards Indonesia. Based on the evaluative measures using issue power balance and issue outcome, the deferment of the case reveals the Philippines' initial estimation of a STRONG behaviour. This serves represents its behavioural point of reference.

Table 12: The Philippines' Initial Estimation of STRONG Behaviour towards Indonesia on Veloso's Case⁵²

Issue Power Balance	Issue outcome	Weak Behaviour	Strong Behaviour
The Philippines manifested STRONG COMMITMENT to save Veloso	ACHIEVED OBJECTIVE for the Philippines to defer Veloso's death penalty		✓
The Philippines offered LEGAL ALTERNATIVE to Indonesia by making Veloso a witness against the drug syndicate that victimized her	NO CONCESSION or surrendering displayed by the Philippines to let Veloso be executed		✓

The second table in the following page highlights the discrete external behaviours that have implications on the Philippines' strong behaviour. In particular, they are the situation-based approach/attitude and actor-based actions that the Philippines manifested during the case.

⁵² This table is a summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

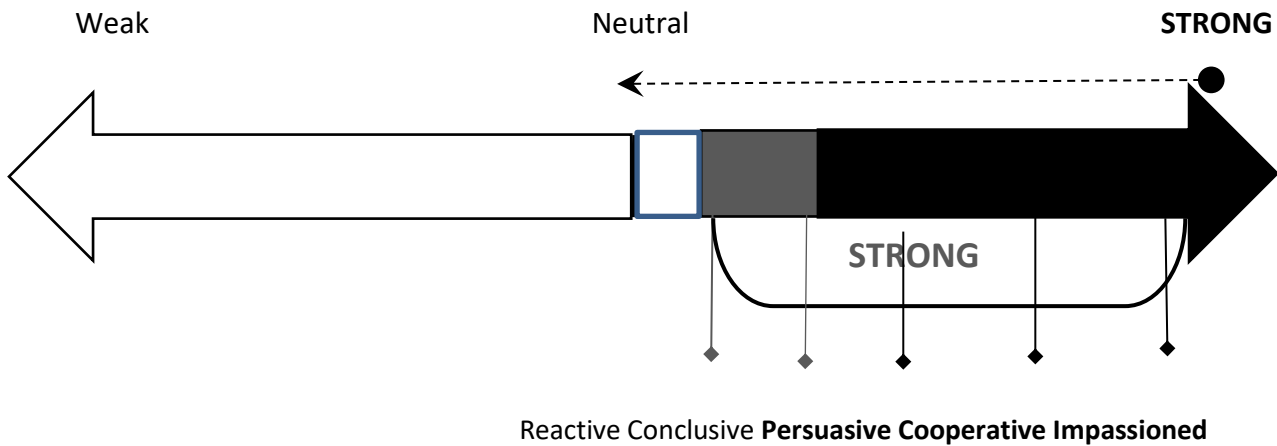
Table 13: The Philippines' External Behaviours affecting its STRONG Behavioural Point of Reference towards Indonesia on Veloso's Case⁵³

External Behaviour		Details	Impact on Behavioural Point of Reference
Situation-Based	Impassioned Attitude	The Philippines displayed resolute efforts due to an emotional public clamour to save Veloso's life. This resulted in its strong behaviour.	Reinforce STRONG behavioural point
	Reactive Approach	The Philippine government was criticised for not acting ahead of time to save Veloso. This reduced its strong behaviour.	Regress from STRONG behavioural point
	Cooperative Attitude	The Philippines led by Aquino strongly lobbied for Veloso's case but with utmost deference towards Indonesia. This reinforced its strong behaviour.	Reinforce STRONG behavioural point
	Conclusive demeanour	The Philippines under Duterte with a less nuanced outlook, is likely to concede the fate of Veloso to Indonesia's justice system and prevailing laws. This relegates its government's initial strong posture regarding her case.	Regress from STRONG behavioural point
Actor-Based	Persuasive Actions	The Philippine government employed positive diplomatic representation, while its non-government organizations used symbolic means that related the plight of Veloso to many Indonesians working abroad. This bolstered its strong position.	Reinforce STRONG behavioural point

Based on the two tables, the Philippines on the whole generated a STRONG behaviour towards Indonesia regarding Veloso's case as illustrated in the figure on the following page:

⁵³ This table is a summary of the Philippines' External Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

Figure 15: The Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines' Resulting in an Overall STRONG Behaviour towards Indonesia on Veloso's Case⁵⁴



At the end of the case, the Philippines projected an initial estimation of a STRONG behaviour towards Indonesia. Its *impassioned* attitude to save Veloso, its *persuasive* actions towards Indonesia, and Aquino's *cooperative* approach in engaging Widodo ultimately 'reinforced' the Philippines' strong behaviour. These external behaviours are plotted in the black panel, causing its expansion in the behavioural spectrum.

However, other external behaviours projected by the Philippines caused 'regressions' from its strong behavioural point of reference. These external behaviours resulted in the creation of the grey panel in the behavioural spectrum. The Philippine government's *reactive* approach prior to Veloso's death sentence negatively affected its posture. Moreover, the *conclusive* approach of the Duterte administration on Veloso's case may eventually allow her death sentence in Indonesia to push through. This may completely overturn the Philippines' prior position under Aquino, which may diminish its international credibility and policy stance.

Despite these drawbacks, the Philippines displayed an OVERALL STRONG behaviour towards Indonesia since there are more reinforcement than regressions (wider black panel than grey panel) from its strong behavioural point of reference due to the effect of its external behaviours.

⁵⁴ This figure is the Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines that reflect its overall behaviour. This is an original illustration made by the author for this study.

4.3.5 The Philippines' Diplomatic Row with Kuwait over Filipino Workers January- May 2018 (Duterte Administration)

Background:

In January 2018, several investigations revealed that abusive employers in Kuwait had driven at least four Filipino domestic workers to suicide. President Rodrigo Duterte then imposed a temporary deployment ban on workers bound for Kuwait and threatened to withdraw Filipinos already employed in the country. There are more than 250,000 Filipinos working in Kuwait, most are employed as domestic helpers.

Kuwait's Response:

The Kuwaiti government responded with an amnesty program allowing undocumented Filipinos to rectify their status or to exit the country without being fined. The program began in January 29 and extended until 22 April 2018. During this period, the two countries have been negotiating an end to the ban with a labour agreement that would protect the rights of Filipino workers in Kuwait.

Diplomatic Crisis:

In February 2018, the corpse of Joanna Demafelis, a Filipino household worker was found in a freezer in Kuwait. Though her employers were arrested in Syria and received a death sentence in absentia by the Kuwaiti court, Demafelis' tragic death triggered a diplomatic crisis between the two countries.

In April 2018, bilateral relations worsened when a video clip was publicly released showing an alleged rescue operation of distressed Filipino workers. The video revealed Philippine embassy officials picking up domestic workers outside their homes, and helping them 'escape' from their allegedly abusive employers in Kuwait. Embassy officials were deemed to have encouraged Filipino migrant workers to leave their employers.

Kuwait's Action:

The Kuwaiti government accused the Philippines of breaching the rules and regulations that govern diplomatic actions and of violating its country's sovereignty and domestic laws. In such cases, protocol dictates that the Philippine embassy will coordinate

with Kuwaiti police authorities. However, the embassy was deemed to have purposely failed to do so. Thus, the Kuwaiti government issued arrest warrants against Philippine embassy personnel for kidnapping. It also expelled the Philippine ambassador, declaring him "persona non grata" and recalled its Kuwaiti ambassador from Manila.

Philippine Response:

The Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs Allan Peter Cayetano, a political appointee of Duterte, issued an apology to the government and citizens of Kuwait over the controversial actions of Philippine embassy officials. On 30 April 2018, President Duterte meanwhile made permanent the temporary ban on the deployment of Filipino workers to Kuwait that he imposed last January. He also cancelled his scheduled state visit to Kuwait.

Case Outcome:

After the diplomatic standoff, both countries eventually signed the "Agreement on the Employment of Domestic Workers between the Philippines and Kuwait" on 11 May 2018. The agreement seeks to guarantee their rights such as allowing them to keep their passports and mobile phones (often confiscated by employers). It also imposes Kuwaiti employees to provide domestic workers with food, housing, clothing, and health insurance.

The Philippine government had set this labour agreement as a condition for its eventual termination of its deployment ban to Kuwait. On 16 May 2018, Duterte ordered the lifting of the deployment ban, and eventually declared the normalization of ties between the Philippines' and Kuwait.

Evaluation of the Philippines' Behaviour towards Kuwait Regarding the Welfare of Filipino Workers

The Philippines put up an assertive stance towards Kuwait regarding the increasing reports of death and abuse of Filipino domestic workers. The Kuwaiti government sought to rectify the situation by granting an amnesty program and imposing the death sentence to the employers who allegedly murdered Demafelis.

However, the diplomatic blunder committed by the Philippine government resulted in its loss of control towards its engagement with Kuwait. While the country initially took the

upper hand in its demands with the Kuwaiti government, it eventually undermined its position due to the “rescue operation” instigated by the DFA. The Philippines was deemed to have diminished its leverage in the negotiation over the labour deal with Kuwait, with some observers pointing out that it could have pushed for more substantial benefits and safety measures for Filipino workers.” According to Interviewee 14⁵⁵: “the position of the Philippines was sacrificed to repair diplomatic ties with the Kuwaiti government.” Though it was a precondition to the signing of the labour agreement, *the deployment ban of Filipino domestic helpers bound for Kuwait was eventually lifted, reflecting a change in the Philippines’ policy position*. On this note, the Philippines’ change in position manifested a “weak behaviour.”

Yet Duterte’s keen attention to the issue and his combative statements has put the spotlight on the plight of Filipinos in Kuwait. According to Interviewee 15,⁵⁶ Duterte “shunned the niceties and politeness of diplomacy, as the situation calls for it. Feel good diplomacy stops when human rights are trampled upon.” Because of Duterte’s aggressive stance, the Philippines consequently manifested *high commitment to safeguard the lives and welfare of its nationals*. Eventually, *the country was able to achieve its objective of protecting its citizens*, in the form of a labour agreement with Kuwait. In this case, the Philippines manifested a “strong behaviour.” As observed by Interviewee 16,⁵⁷ “It showed the Philippine government’s commitment to the protection of its overseas workers. I may not agree with some of its actions but at the very least, it secured a labour deal that includes additional protection for Filipinos in Kuwait.”

In separate instances, the Philippines exhibited a weakened position on the one hand, and a strong stance on the other. This divergent evaluation puts the Philippines in a neutral position as its initial estimation of its behaviour towards Kuwait regarding the welfare issue of Filipino workers. To further explicate on its “neutrality,” the following approach/attitude and action/ reaction are analysed:

⁵⁵ Interview with a Filipino diplomat working in the Migrant Affairs Office of the Department of Foreign Affairs in February 2019.

⁵⁶ Interview with a Filipino Foreign Service Officer currently posted in the Middle East in March 2019.

⁵⁷ Interview with a policy analyst specializing in migration studies in March 2019.

1. Combative reaction of the Philippines brought about by Duterte's personal characteristics

Duterte's assertive personality is reflected in his tough-talking attitude amidst the rising cases of murder and abuse against Filipino workers. In his dramatic outburst against Kuwait, Duterte declared: "What are you doing to my countrymen? Is there something wrong with your culture? Is there something wrong with your values? (Basa 2018)." For Interviewee 17,⁵⁸ Duterte's outrage was a "long time coming. It sent a strong message against the labour-receiving country. It also took swipes against the root cause of the abuses, which is the medieval kafala system.^d"

His reaction also revealed his image as a benevolent father of the nation, who strongly cares about the plight of his people. Duterte (2018) proclaimed that "the Filipino is no slave to anyone, anywhere and everywhere. Every unlawful physical injury that is inflicted on an OFW is an injury I personally bear as the head of this republic."

There were criticisms against the imposition of the deployment ban, which was considered as an abrupt decision without clear policy guidelines. But for Interviewee 16, "Duterte's decision to impose a temporary deployment ban was strategically useful in getting the Kuwaiti government to negotiate with the Philippines for more labor policies that will protect migrant workers' rights." Essentially, Duterte's aggressive personality and leadership style resulted in a *combative attitude* of the Philippines that strengthened its stance towards Kuwait regarding the cases of abuse against Filipinos.

2. Impassioned attitude of the Philippines due to its national interests concerning Filipino workers

Because of several tragic cases, Duterte imposed a deployment ban for workers bound for Kuwait. In a speech, he declared: "Can I ask you now just to treat my countrymen as human beings with dignity? One more incident about a Filipina worker being raped there, committing

⁵⁸Interview with a Filipino Foreign Service Officer posted in the Middle East in March 2019.

^d The system requires all unskilled labourers to have an in-country sponsor, usually their employer, who is responsible for their visa and legal status. This practice has been criticised by human rights organizations for creating easy opportunities for the exploitation of workers, as many employers take away passports and abuse their workers with little chance of legal repercussions.

suicide, I'm going to stop, to ban and I'm sorry to the Filipinos there, you can all go home (de Guzman 2018)."

Public reaction on the deployment ban of OFWs to Kuwait was divided. Some expressed support on the government's decision to prevent domestic workers from going to Kuwait. As early as 2013, Filipinos living in Kuwait themselves have requested the Philippine government to stop sending household workers in the gulf state, following numerous reports of maids fleeing their employers amid complaints of abuse. According to a statement from the group *Pilipino sa Kuwait*, "The Philippine government must heed our call and be moved with wisdom, good judgment and determination to muster the political will to freeze the deployment of our women as household service workers to the Middle East, and to put an end to this decades of vicious cycle of recruitment-deployment-abuse (Santiago 2013)."

However, others believe that it will not stop domestic workers from going to Kuwait and will only increase potential victims of human trafficking by illegal recruiters. In a statement from the Human Rights Watch (HRW): "the ban forces Filipinos to resort to unsafe and unregulated channels to enter the country (2018)." Moreover, for Interviewee 14: "It's a knee-jerk reaction. Although the ban may be temporary, it may do more harm than good for the Philippines and the Filipinos in Kuwait in particular."

Regardless of the divided public opinion, there was a strong emotional reaction over the tragic death of Demafelis, and a widespread clamour among the Filipinos for the government to take strong action. With the deployment ban, the Philippines led by Duterte, displayed an *impassioned* stance in response to abuses in Kuwait, despite domestic criticisms and the potential loss of labour market for overseas workers.

3. Proactive approach of the Philippines brought about by its political institutions

Though the protection of overseas Filipino workers is enshrined in the country's foreign policy, such mandate can be conveniently exploited by Filipino politicians with vested interests for political mileage and self-promotion. This points to DFA Secretary Cayetano, a long-time politician and not a career diplomat, who was criticized for permitting the release of the controversial video. That video was widely viewed as a public showcase to prove that government officials are making efforts to protect Filipino workers. His actions were

influenced by strong public opinion regarding overseas workers since each reported Filipino corpse arriving in the country from Kuwait, the Philippine government bears the wrath of the domestic public.

As part of its mandate, the Philippines takes a *proactive approach* to protect overseas Filipino workers. In this case, the government has declared a deployment ban and assisted in the repatriation and return of these workers through Kuwait's amnesty program. However, the alleged "rescue operation" of Filipinos in the video backfired and largely construed as a form of politicking by Cayetano, an ambitious politician seeking to get elected for a government post. According to opinion columnist Boo Chanco (2018): "Cayetano is focused on how to be president after Duterte. Being Foreign Affairs Secretary is just a stepping stone. That Kuwaiti affair was not primarily a 'rescue' operation, but a publicity stunt to promote Cayetano's political future."

Unfortunately, such *proactive effort* turned out to be a miscalculated and imprudent act that caused the tense diplomatic row between the Philippines and Kuwait, which ultimately weakened the country's position. Even for Jose Alejandrino (2018), a policy adviser of Duterte, the video revealed Cayetano's incompetence and recklessness. "When you run a covert operation you don't advertise it. By posting the video, the Cayetano team provided the evidence against themselves to the Kuwaiti authorities that Philippine embassy officials had broken their laws. It made the Kuwaitis look impotent. It added insult to injury. Hence the outrage and the diplomatic protest by the Kuwaiti government."

4. Coercive action of the Philippines due to its bilateral economic relations

When the Philippine government imposed a temporary deployment ban, the Kuwaiti government responded with an amnesty program for undocumented Filipinos. When Kuwait issued arrest warrants against Philippine embassy personnel and expelled the Philippine ambassador, the Philippines made permanent the temporary deployment ban and cancelled the president's state visit to Kuwait.

These are considered as *coercive actions* by the Philippines towards Kuwait in an attempt to protect the lives of Filipinos in the country, which strengthened its stance. Philippine authorities estimate that there are about 251,000 documented Filipinos working in

Kuwait. Of that number, about 163,000 are employed as household service workers. The Philippine government recognizes this significant number, which it deems both a major strain to its limited resources and a source of leverage towards its Kuwaiti counterpart.

But what is implicit in Duterte's actions is that it capitalized on the huge population of Filipino domestic workers and their contributions to the Kuwaiti economy and its households. His actions eventually compelled Kuwait to make institutional arrangements to safeguard the welfare of Filipino workers in the country. Thus, for Interviewee 17, it is possible that the permanent deployment ban enabled the Philippine government "to have leverage against Kuwait" in its negotiation on the labour agreement. As explained by Interviewee 16, "the reaction of the Kuwaiti government with regards to the ban also showed the indispensability of Filipino workers in its economy, which the Philippines was well aware of."

Assessment on the Philippines' Overall Behaviour towards Kuwait Regarding Overseas Filipino Workers

The first table below summarizes an assessment on the Philippines' behaviour towards Kuwait. Based on the evaluative measures using issue power balance and issue outcome, the conclusion of the case reveals that the Philippines exhibited both weak and strong behaviours. This consequently reflected a NEUTRAL stance as the initial estimation of its behaviour and represents its behavioural point of reference.

Table 14: The Philippines' Initial Estimation of NEUTRAL Behaviour towards Kuwait Regarding Overseas Filipino Workers⁵⁹

Issue Power Balance	Issue outcome	Weak Behaviour	Strong Behaviour
The Philippines LOST CONTROL in its engagement with Kuwait due to its diplomatic blunder	CHANGE IN POSITION of the Philippines due to its lifting of the deployment ban imposed on Kuwait	✓	
The Philippines reflected HIGH COMMITMENT to safeguard the lives and welfare of its nationals	ACHIEVED OBJECTIVE for the Philippines in the form of a labour agreement signed with Kuwait		✓

⁵⁹ This table is a summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

The second table below highlights the discrete external behaviours that can further elaborate on the Philippines' neutral behaviour. In particular, they are the situation-based approach/attitude and actor-based action/reaction that the Philippines exhibited during the case.

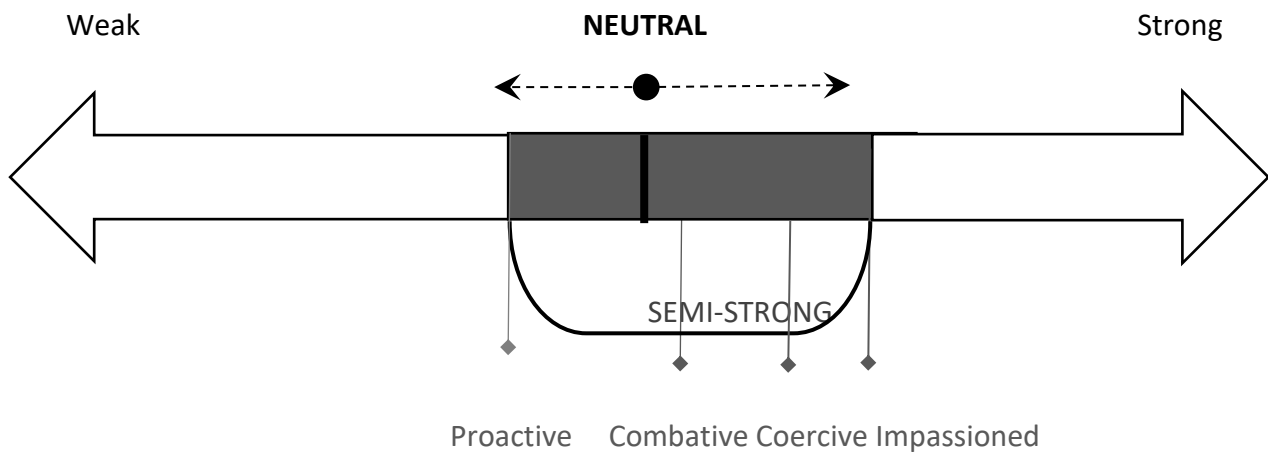
Table 15: The Philippines' External Behaviours Affecting its NEUTRAL Behavioural Point of Reference towards Kuwait Regarding Overseas Filipino Workers⁶⁰

External Behaviour		Details	Impact on Behavioural Point of Reference
Situation-Based	Impassioned Attitude	The Philippines displayed intense emotional reaction over the mounting deaths of Filipino workers. This enabled its government to take a strong stance.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point
	Proactive Approach	The Philippine government's alleged 'rescue operation' of Filipinos backfired and construed as a form of politicking. This weakened its position in dealing with Kuwait.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point
Actor-Based	Combative Reaction	The Philippines took an assertive stance towards Kuwait based on Duterte's tough statements against cases of Filipino abuse. This reflected its strong posture.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point
	Coercive Action	The Philippines capitalized on its large population of workers in Kuwait that empowered it to impose a deployment ban. It then gained leverage in its negotiation for a labour agreement, which essentially strengthened its position.	Regress from NEUTRAL behavioural point

⁶⁰ This table is a summary of the Philippines' External Behaviour originally created by the author for this study.

Based on the two tables, the Philippines on the whole generated a SEMI-STRONG behaviour towards Kuwait regarding the case concerning the plight of overseas Filipino workers as illustrated in the figure below:

Figure 16: The Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines' Resulting in an Overall SEMI-STRONG Behaviour towards Kuwait Regarding Overseas Filipino Workers⁶¹



At the end of the case, the Philippines projected an initial estimation of a NEUTRAL behaviour towards Kuwait, which displayed both its strength and weakness. But during the case, its other external behaviours caused 'regressions' in opposite directions from its neutral behavioural point of reference. Its *proactive* approach to save the 'abused' Filipino workers backfired, which diminished its international credibility and diplomatic standing. Thus from its neutral point, there is a shift towards a weakened position.

However, the Philippine government's *impassioned* attitude to protect the welfare of Filipinos, its *coercive* action to impose a deployment ban against Kuwait, and its *combative* reaction led by Duterte against the Kuwaiti government all contributed to strengthen its position. Thus from its neutral point, these external behaviours resulted in more 'regressions' or shift towards a stronger behaviour, causing a wider grey panel on the right side of the behavioural spectrum.

Because of these external behaviours that affected its initial NEUTRAL position, the Philippines' behaviour has swayed in both ways. But with three strong points as against one

⁶¹ This figure is the Behavioural Spectrum of the Philippines that reflect its overall behaviour. This is an original illustration made by the author for this study.

weak spot, the Philippines consequently displayed an OVERALL SEMI-STRONG behaviour towards Kuwait regarding the welfare of its Filipino workers.

After discussing all of the above casess, the table in the following page presents a summary of the results in the evaluation of the Philippines' external behaviour towards other small states. It highlights the initial estimation of its behaviour (derived from the issue power balance and issue outcome) at the conclusion of each case. It also lists the discrete external behaviours (both situation and actor based) that the Philippines projected during the course of the bilateral issue. Both of these factors influence the overall assessment of the Philippines' behaviour in each case. This should provide an overview of the variations of the country's behaviour towards its interactions with its peers.

Table 16: Summary of the Philippines' Initial Estimation of Behaviour, External Behaviours, and Overall Assessment of its Behaviour towards other Small⁶²

Case	Initial Estimation of Behaviour	Discrete External Behaviour	Overall Assessment of Behaviour
The Philippines' Deportation of Taiwanese Suspects to China	Strong Behaviour	Inconsistent and Reactive Approach	SEMI-STRONG BEHAVIOUR
		Compounded Attitude	
		Impassioned Attitude	
		Persuasive Action	
The Philippines' Political Clash with Taiwan over Fisherman's Death	Neutral Behaviour	Reactive Approach	SEMI-WEAK BEHAVIOUR
		Acquiescent Reaction	
The Philippines' Interaction with Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff	Weak Behaviour	Cooperative Attitude	WEAK BEHAVIOUR
		Reactive Approach	
		Acquiescent Reaction	
The Philippines' Petition to Save the Life of Filipino Worker in Indonesia	Strong Behaviour	Impassioned stance	STRONG BEHAVIOUR
		Reactive Approach	
		Cooperative Attitude	
		Conclusive demeanour	
		Persuasive Actions	
The Philippines' Diplomatic Row with Kuwait over Filipino Workers	Neutral Behaviour	Impassioned Attitude	SEMI-STRONG BEHAVIOUR
		Proactive Approach	
		Combative Reaction	
		Coercive Action	

⁶² This table is a summary of the external behaviours of the Philippines in all of the cases discussed in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE ANALYSIS:

The Philippines' Foreign Policy Determinants and Explanatory Factors

Based on this study's inductive approach, this chapter evaluates the foreign policy that explains the external behaviour of the small state in its interactions with another. It examines the Philippines' foreign policy as the underlying basis of its external behaviour as examined in the case studies in the previous chapter.

As discussed in this study's Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, an assessment of the Philippines' foreign policy is based on three determinants (leadership, political, and bilateral), each with its own explanatory factors. Every explanatory factor corresponds to an external behaviour of the Philippines as pointed in the Case Studies in Chapter 4. This chapter then explicates each of these three determinants and their corresponding explanatory factors that influence its foreign policy and consequently its external behaviour.

After the discussion on these foreign policy determinants and their explanatory factors, this chapter relates it across all of the cases discussed in the Case Studies in Chapter 4. It will analyse their impact on the Philippines' external behaviours, which could either weaken or strengthen its stance on an issue relative to another small state.

Towards the end, this chapter also analyses the correlation among these determinants and factors, which give a holistic view of the Philippines' foreign policy. This should provide a general indication on the rationale behind the country's external behaviour and conduct in international affairs.

5.1 Leadership Determinants: Personal Characteristics and Global Perceptions of Philippine Presidents

In examining the Philippines' foreign policy as a small state, the influential role of its president must be taken into account. With constitutional authority, the president's power has wide political latitude to make quicker and more decisive actions concerning the country's external affairs. Often referred to as the chief architect of foreign policy, a Philippine president "can redefine priorities, dictate the tone and posture in the international

community, and even personally manage diplomacy with selected countries if he/she so wishes, subject to some structural constraints” (Baviera 2015).

Because of the country’s personality-based political culture, the Philippine presidency also possesses much leeway to put his/her personal stamp on the nation’s foreign policy. In fact, an assessment of the Philippines’ international affairs and external relations is generally based on an evaluation of presidential administrations such as the Marcos foreign policy (1965-1986), the Ramos (1992-1998) foreign policy, or the Arroyo foreign policy (2001-2010). Essentially, each of these leaders bring their own biases to the office, and their individuality is clearly apparent whenever they implement changes in the country’s foreign policy that are radically different from their predecessors.

Using their administrations as the contextual background in analysing the Philippines’ external behaviour, this study features the profiles of Presidents Benigno Aquino III and Rodrigo Duterte. Each of these leadership profiles features their personal characteristics (personality and leadership style) and global perceptions (beliefs, ideology, and images) as discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3. Their profiles should reveal their individual foreign policies and the resulting external behaviour that the Philippines manifested in the Cases Studies as discussed in Chapter 4.

5.1.1 Leadership Profile: Benigno Aquino III

Benigno Aquino III was born on 8 February 1960 in Manila, Philippines. His father was Benigno Aquino Jr., who was regarded as a national hero after his assassination for his unrelenting pursuit to reinstitute democracy in the Philippines during the dictatorial regime of Ferdinand Marcos. His mother was Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, the most prominent figure of the 1986 People Power Revolution that toppled Marcos and led to her installation as the first female president of the country.

With his political pedigree, Aquino also established his career in politics. He initially worked in the business sector after completing his Bachelor’s degree in Economics in 1981 prior to being elected in government posts. A fourth-generation politician, he started his

political life as a member of the House of Representatives for nine years, and subsequently served as a senator for three years. Aquino eventually became the 15th President of the Philippines after winning the 2010 national elections.

Aquino's Personal Characteristics: Cooperative Actions for Philippines

Aquino was elected president through a formidable campaign against massive corruption and political instability that highlighted the reign of his predecessor (and incidentally his former university professor) Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (2001-2010). For the majority of Filipinos who voted for him, Aquino possessed an untarnished image of personal integrity. While his record as a congressman and a senator was unimpressive, Aquino has an untainted reputation of honesty without any insinuations of using his political influence inappropriately. In a country where corruption is endemic, his clean record is in itself a noteworthy achievement that eventually propelled him to the presidency.

Aquino also embodied simplicity and humility despite his illustrious family name. According to Harden (2010): "He has a low-key personality who shoots pool, enjoys jazz, and had never seen himself as a national saviour. He has also lived most of his life in his mother's modest house on the edge of Manila." In a media interview, Aquino was quoted as saying: "Don't let me start out having an inflated sense of my own worth or my ego, not having my feet planted firmly on the ground because I might succumb to the same temptations that those who we are criticizing have done" (Lunt 2010). Aquino pledged not only to "set the example" himself to be an ethical and honest public servant, but also to hold similarly high standards for those who join his administration.

Aquino is likewise viewed as being meticulous and methodical. Despite his minimal achievements in his 12 years in the legislature, he has served on a wide range of committees and is familiar with the issues of governance. He spent long hours examining the national budget and proposed key amendments to make sure that public funds were prudently spent. Aquino also actively participated in Senate investigations on the abuses of government officials and fought for justice for victims of human rights abuses.

In addition, Aquino describes himself as a leader who seeks consensus. Growing up in the shadow of democracy icons as parents, he encourages free and liberal thinking among his people, yet fosters consensus when making important state decisions. Aquino is also known for building partnerships between government and communities, particularly in addressing the country's communist insurgency problem. Notably, he defied protocol and met with rebel chief Murad Ebrahim to revive the stalled peace negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). At the international level, Aquino is renowned for promoting cooperation with other countries to address common security threats in the region.

Because of his personality, Aquino may be regarded as having a 'systematic leadership style,' as he ultimately leads by 'careful planning.' He is predisposed to objective and accurate analytical thinking when making decisions. Systematic leaders like Aquino work best in situations requiring accuracy and long-term planning. This was evident in his diligent efforts in mapping out and accomplishing the economic development goals he targeted during his administration, which resulted in the country's increased investor confidence and significant economic growth rate.

However, Aquino's leadership style tends to be less effective when faced with crisis that needed urgent actions, even when all the facts are not available. Such observation explains Aquino's diplomatic mishandling of the Manila bus hostage crisis in 2010 that resulted in the deaths of Hong Kong tourists. He was criticized for his administration's failure to initiate contact with the Hong Kong government and his futile attempt at damage control.

In addition to his systematic leadership style, Aquino is generally regarded as a 'conciliatory leader.' According to Hermann (1980), this type of leadership indicates a need to establish and maintain friendly relationships with others, and is less suspicious of their motives. Such leaders also reveal high conceptual complexity with an ability to consider a wide range of alternatives. They also exhibit little belief in their own ability to control events in which they are involved in.

Based on his personality and leadership style, Aquino is predisposed to push for a 'participatory' foreign policy for the Philippines. As Hermann (1980, 11) argues, such policy

fosters interactions with other nations to learn from them. It also seeks a wide range of alternative solutions to problems jointly plaguing the nation and others. A participatory foreign policy is largely sensitive, responsive, and attuned to what is going on in international relations. As a result, such foreign policy tends to evoke *cooperative* actions from the Philippines led by Aquino towards other small states. This was evident in the manner by which the Philippines convinced Indonesia to grant a temporary reprieve on Veloso's death sentence.

Aquino's Global Perceptions: Compounded Approach for Philippines

Aquino's perceptions about the world is largely shaped by his morals beliefs and liberal ideology. Often regarded as an 'accidental president,' he is regarded as a "unique conception of political ambition based on a moralistic fulfilment of a larger obligation to the collective" (Heydarian 2013). Because of the political legacies of his parents, Aquino continued to espouse democratic values in his governance platform. He clearly stated this in one of his interviews: "I want to make democracy work, not just for the rich and well-connected, but for everybody" (Tordesillas 2009).

Aquino is also influenced by the images he holds about the world. Though he perceives the anarchic world as unfair and corrupt, Aquino believes that through democratic institutions and good governance, it can be better. It is a paradigm that "assumes the application of reason in paving a way for a more orderly, just and cooperative world, restraining disorder that can be policed by institutional reforms" (Dizon and Cabalza 2016). This is the reason why Aquino's strategy in dealing with overlapping maritime claims in the South China Sea led to the country's filing of arbitration case against China. He championed a rules-based approach under the facets of idealism, magnifying moral virtue by asserting that a sovereign state such as the Philippines should gain an equal footing in the court of law despite the apparent power asymmetry with China.

Meanwhile, Aquino's worldview is perceived through a moral lens. He deems that the anarchic world can be regulated through international institutions. This results in his affinity towards a 'liberal and institutionalist' foreign policy for the Philippines. Such policy requires

careful deliberation and moral and legal considerations that are aligned with the standards and principles upheld in international institutions. This reflects Aquino's more sophisticated and nuanced global outlook that equally espouses the manner in which the state advances its interests as much as the achievement of its policy goals. Such global perception of Aquino tends to manifest a *compounded* approach for the Philippines when managing issues with other small states.

Aquino's Personality and Perception: Implications on the Philippines' WEAK/STRONG Behaviour

The personal characteristics and global perceptions of Aquino have significant effect on the external behaviour of the Philippines, as evidenced in the four cases discussed in this study during his presidential administration.

Aquino's influence may not be evidently prominent in the two cases with Taiwan since as a head of state, he is not supposed to directly engage with it politically and diplomatically under the One-China policy. However, his personality and perception as the president are implicitly manifested in both cases, which have significant bearing in the Philippines' attitude towards Taiwan.

In the Taiwanese deportation case, Aquino bared his multi-layered global outlook when he prioritized the Philippines' interests with China at the expense of its goodwill with Taiwan. His decision or permission to deport the Taiwanese nationals to the mainland exposed his complex worldview, resulting in a more *compounded* behaviour for the Philippines. Essentially, his high concern for the country's issues with China enabled him to adopt a 'stronger' stance towards Taiwan by deporting its nationals to the mainland against the vehement objection of the Taiwanese government.

In the aftermath of the Taiwanese fisherman's death, Aquino inadvertently revealed the drawbacks of his 'systematic' leadership style, which tends to be less effective when confronted with a crisis. This was implied through the *reactive* approach of his government officials in response to the controversial death of the fisherman. Aquino's leadership may

have indirectly led to the Philippine government's 'mishandling' of the case, which consequently 'weakened' the country's stance towards Taiwan.

Meanwhile during the Sabah standoff, Aquino's *cooperative* attitude towards Malaysia reflected his nuanced perception regarding the issue. This was brought about by his high regard for Malaysia's role in the peace process in Mindanao, which he did not want to jeopardize by antagonizing it. Yet his collaborative demeanour with the Malaysian government during the crisis was negatively perceived as detrimental to the Sulu militants' territorial claim on Sabah. Because of Aquino's attitude and outlook, the Philippines' consequently projected a 'weakened' stance towards Malaysia.

But in his engagement with Indonesia regarding Veloso's death penalty case, Aquino's conciliatory personality resulted in a 'stronger' behaviour for the Philippines. This was evident in the courteous manner by which he convinced his Indonesian counterpart, President Widodo, to delay Veloso's execution. Moreover, Aquino's global perception also has a significant effect in the Philippines' position regarding the case. His utmost consideration for the sanctity of human rights and the preservation of human life, enabled him to make a committed appeal to Indonesia to spare the life of Veloso, even at the risk of disregarding Indonesia's judicial ruling on the case.

As these cases reveal, Aquino's personality and perception have major impact on the Philippines' behaviour. However while his personality and perception naturally remain the same, the level of Aquino's keenness and dedication on how he treats or perceives each case varies. This essentially affect the Philippines' behaviour, which could fluctuate to either a weaker or stronger stance.

5.1.2 Leadership Profile: Rodrigo Duterte

Rodrigo Duterte was born on March 28, 1945 in Leyte, Philippines. His father served as a local mayor and governor, while his mother was a public school teacher. Duterte graduated from law school in 1972 and worked at the City Prosecution Office of Davao City, Mindanao (southern part of the Philippines). He eventually became Davao City mayor in 1988,

re-elected six times, and occupied the position for more than twenty years before becoming the country's president. Duterte succeeded Aquino as the 16th president of the Philippines after winning the 2016 national elections.

Duterte's Personal Characteristics: Combative Action for Philippines

Duterte is known for his tough-talking attitude and violent personality that are caused by a psychological condition. According to a report, Duterte is suffering from "Antisocial Narcissistic Personality Disorder," a condition characterized by "grandiose sense of self-entitlement and manipulative behaviour" and "pervasive tendency to demean, humiliate others and violate their rights and feelings" (Lozada 2016). Such condition was the basis of the annulment case filed by Duterte's first wife to terminate their marriage.

In the same report from official court records, Duterte is also capable of destructive behaviour. The "immediate gratification of his needs and desires is always expected; any delay can upset him a great deal" (Vitug 2016). The psychological assessment also found Duterte having a poor capacity for objective judgment. "He fails to see things in the light of facts, or at least from the point of view of most people. He also tends to rationalize and justify his wrongdoings" (Lozada 2016).

Duterte's psychological condition reveals a very impulsive and assertive personality. He is renowned for his immediate execution of policies and the implementation of reforms in government, with the occasional disregard for institutional checks and balances. He is also notorious for instigating violence that is militarised through state-armed forces in response to crisis. Such observation is reflected in Duterte's brutal 'war on drugs' that allegedly involved extra-judicial killings.

As a leader, Duterte won the presidency as a populist politician. According to Tanyag (2018), populism is an ideology and phenomenon that is characterised by a "polarised antagonism between the masses and the elite or the dangerous other." It also involves the "harnessing of emotions as a constitutive element of governance, such as the propagation of oppositional thinking of 'us versus them.'" For the millions who voted for him, Duterte is seen

as an anti-elite who can change things for the people already frustrated with the chronic poverty and incessant crime in the Philippines. Based on his promise of overnight salvation, Duterte has effectively “tapped into this collective frustrations over the inefficacy of state institutions led by the unresponsive and insensitive elite leaders” (Heydarian 2018).

Moreover, Duterte is deemed as the benevolent father of the nation. Filipinos generally believe that he knows and pursues the best interest of the country and strongly cares about their plight. This ‘benevolent paternalism’ is supported by cultural norms around filial piety and reverence, which tends to undermine democratic governance in the country (Tanyag 2018). Add to his fatherly and macho image is his folksy charisma whom Filipinos consider as rough yet authentic. His signature bombastic language laced with obscene swearwords ironically endeared himself to the local masses. According to Moffitt (2016), Duterte’s “political style features bad manners, an appeal to the people versus the elite, and the performance of crisis, breakdown or threat.”

Because of his personality and public image, Duterte may be deemed as having a ‘direct leadership style,’ as he ultimately leads by taking charge. He has a "General-like" approach to getting people moving towards a goal, and takes charge no matter how challenging the situation. Direct leaders like Duterte are most effective in conflict, change, and crisis scenarios in which bold proactive action and quick effective decisions are needed, required and expected. This is reflected in his assertive command during the armed conflict from May to October 2017 in Marawi, Philippines. Duterte immediately declared Martial Law during the battle, which the Philippine government forces eventually won against the local jihadists and militant groups affiliated with the Islamic State.

However, Duterte’s direct leadership style tends to be least effective in circumstances requiring time to carefully plan and craft a strategy. Such shortcoming was apparent in his threat of a deployment ban of Filipino workers intended to leave for the Middle East. Without a clear policy procedure, his decision was largely viewed as a reactionary response to the rising cases of murder and abuse against Filipino domestic helpers allegedly committed by their Arab employers. In addition to his direct leadership, Duterte is generally regarded as an ‘aggressive leader.’ According to Hermann (1980), this type of leadership tends to distrust

others and their motives. Such leaders also exhibit low conceptual complexity and are likely to believe that they have some control over the events in which they are involved in.

Based on his personality and leadership style, Duterte is oriented towards an 'independent' foreign policy for the Philippines. As Herman (1980, 12) claims, such policy seeks to maintain a nation's individuality, to keep it as much as possible apart from the others since extensive international contact may lead to dependence. When interaction is necessary, an independent policy expects this to be on the nation's terms. Thus, Duterte's independent foreign policy, which is also heavily influence by his assertive personality, tends to generate a *combative* reaction for the Philippines when confronted with issues involving other small states.

Duterte's Global Perceptions: Conclusive Approach for the Philippines

Duterte's perception about the world is shaped by his personal beliefs and ideology. He believes in the principle behind 'consequentialism' in which the end justifies the means (that are presumably wrong) to achieve a supposed (and often uncertain) outcome. This is reflected in his autocratic tendencies that promote the methodical use of the state's coercive power in order to achieve prompt implementation of policies. A self-confessed socialist, Duterte also pushes for equality in both his domestic and foreign policies. He aims to implement an "inclusive economic growth program" to directly improve the lives of the poor, while he subscribes to an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist ideology against the West.

Duterte is also influenced by the images he holds about the world. In particular, he views the US as the 'other' or the enemy. This is based on his personal resentment against the Americans for their colonial subjugation of the Philippines and the unequal treaties that the US has long imposed on the country. Duterte also abhors the Americans and the rest of the Western world because of their 'concerted condemnation' regarding human rights violations in his war on drugs.

In addition, Duterte views the anarchic world in "black and white, with hardly any shades of grey in between." (Misalucha-Willoughby 2016). This is reflected in his clear-cut

‘either-or’ approach in managing the Philippines’ maritime issues with China. His verbal insinuations suggest that if not for his administration’s approach of bilateral engagement, the only alternative he has left is war with China.

Meanwhile, Duterte’s worldview resonates with his own philosophy that emphasizes less on morality. For him, morality is less important in determining whether the state’s action is good or bad, as long as it paves the way for the pursuit of his version of national interest or political goals. A novice in international relations, Duterte seemingly reflects a simplified and less-nuanced outlook of the world. His perception of an anarchic world results in a ‘realist-pragmatic’ foreign policy for the Philippines to enable it to survive in a hostile international environment.

Thus, the country under Duterte subscribes to a foreign policy that asserts the “actual execution of relative power in a rational manner with outcomes falling within the expected range to safeguard the leader and the state’s interests” (Dizon and Cabalza 2016). Such foreign policy adhered to by Duterte has the tendency to generate a *conclusive* approach for the Philippines when addressing issues with other small states.

Duterte’s Personality and Perception: Implications on the Philippines’ WEAK/STRONG Behaviour

There are only two cases under the Duterte administration that are discussed in this study. One of these cases is the death penalty issue of Veloso, which is a carryover from the previous Aquino administration. Essentially, Duterte manifested a “hands-off” reaction regarding the case when he implied to bequeath the fate of Veloso to Indonesia’s justice system. This reveals his pragmatic, less nuanced worldview that tends to result in a conclusive approach for the Philippines in managing bilateral issues.

Duterte’s legalist perception on the issue is in sharp contrast to Aquino’s moral considerations and firm dedication to save the life of Veloso. With the assumption of Duterte as President, the Philippines took a legalist and unconcerned policy in her case that emphasized non-interference in the judicial process of Indonesia. But previously under Aquino, the country showcased a humane and committed policy to save her from the death

penalty in Indonesia. This reversal of policy consequently leads to a “weakened” position for the Philippines towards Indonesia regarding Veloso.

Meanwhile in the case with Kuwait, Duterte’s assertive personality prompted the Philippines’ combative reaction over the rising cases of murder and abuse of Filipino workers. His tough-talking pronouncements against the Kuwaiti government and his deployment ban for Filipinos consequently reflected a “stronger” stance for the Philippines.

Similar to Aquino, Duterte’s personality and perception have major implications on the Philippines’ behaviour. The degree of his keenness and dedication on how he treats or perceives each case can vary, which could result in the fluctuation of either a weaker or stronger stance for the Philippines. What is evident however is that the more there are major differences in the personalities and perceptions of a state’s leaders, the more there are significant adjustments in the country’s foreign policy. Such disparity on the leaders’ personalities and perceptions result in major policy adjustments for the Philippines, as reflected on its divergent approach towards Veloso’s case. Generally, this tends to produce a “weaker stance” for the Philippines.

Indeed, the leadership determinant plays an influential role in a small state’s foreign policy. In the case of the Philippines, the contrasting personalities and perceptions of Aquino and Duterte have significant impact on its external behaviour. The table in the following page presents a brief comparison between Aquino and Duterte as previously discussed.

Table 17: Leadership Determinants of Aquino and Duterte⁶³

Leadership Determinants	Characteristics
Aquino's Personal Characteristics	Personality: consensus builder Leadership Style: systematic and conciliatory leader
Aquino's Global Perceptions	Belief: moralistic Ideology: Liberal Images: Complex worldview
Duterte's Personal Characteristics	Personality: autocratic and forceful Leadership Style: direct and independent leader
Duterte's Global Perceptions	Belief: consequentialism Ideology: Socialist Image: clear-cut worldview

5.2 Political Determinants: Political Institutions and National Interests of the Philippines

Aside from individual leaders, the political determinants of a small state are important in analysing its foreign policy. Essentially, they provide the domestic background in which these leaders operate. A small state's political institutions feature the government actors and the institutional challenges in which they operate, which significantly influence the decision-making process and implementation of its foreign policy. Meanwhile, a small state's national interests underscore the driving force behind its foreign policy, particularly those that generate strong public opinion.

5.2.1 Political Institutions

The political institution of a country serves as the organizational context in which policies are formulated and implemented. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, it features the political actors and government institutions that have important roles to play in the foreign policy process.

The Philippines possesses a democratic regime with a presidential system of government that is largely patterned after the US. It has three coequal branches of government--- executive, legislative, and judiciary--- each with distinct and independent

⁶³ This table is an overview of the leadership determinants of Aquino and Duterte as discussed by the author in this study.

powers and areas of responsibility. But in the foreign policy process, the executive branch and its extensive bureaucracy assume the primary role.

Thus, the political actors involved in the foreign policy process are mainly the chief executive and the bureaucrats. In the Philippines, the chief executive is represented by its president who is also referred to as the “chief architect” of the country’s foreign policy. Aside from the president, the bureaucrats also comprise the executive branch. In the field of foreign policy, most of these bureaucrats serve as Foreign Service officers or diplomats. And in the case of the Philippines, they work in the Department of Foreign Affairs. They are largely consulted on foreign policy matters and serve as implementers of the country’s foreign policy agenda.

Aside from the chief executive and the bureaucrats, the political appointees also hold influence on a state’s foreign policy. In the Philippines, appointing people to official government posts both in the country and overseas, is a common practice by the president. With the consent and confirmation of the Senate, the president normally recruits these people to serve in the government as a debt payment for their assistance during the election or as a reward for their personal loyalty. These political appointments are typically regarded as a tool to dispense political patronage. Such political practice continues despite the existence of a large and professional foreign service who are recruited through a highly competitive examination process, and trained for the generalist functions of a Filipino diplomat (Baviera 2012).

In principle, the president must recognize and defer to the expertise and professionalism of the country’s Foreign Service. According to Republic Act 7157 or the Philippine Foreign Service Act: "In order to strengthen the Career Foreign Service Corps and to enable it to respond to the challenges in the field of international relations, the President shall be guided, as much as possible, by the principle that a majority of diplomatic and permanent missions shall be headed by career ambassadors." However, Philippine presidents normally assign coveted diplomatic posts to favoured allies and friends, as long as the designations will not exceed the number of appointees mandated by law. The Philippine

Foreign Service Act allots 51 percent of diplomatic positions to career officers and 49 percent to political envoys through presidential appointments.

Though majority of the Foreign Service posts are allotted to career officials, high-ranking government positions with decision-making authority are typically designated to political appointees. In particular, the president customarily selects individuals to lead the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). He/she appoints the Secretary and several Undersecretaries to manage the department, and assigns a number of Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives to head the country's embassies and missions abroad.

Institutional Challenges: Reactive Approach for the Philippines

Because of the competing roles of these political actors and the bureaucratic politics within the government, the following are some of the institutional challenges that negatively affect the making and implementation of Philippine foreign policy:

One of these institutional challenges is brought about by the personality-based nature of governance in the Philippines despite its established bureaucracy. This consequently produces a foreign policy that accentuates the personal predilections of the president, which is evident whenever there is a leadership transition that results in the adjustment of the country's foreign policy. The implication is that, for every change in the presidential administration, the country's bureaucracy particularly the DFA, has to accommodate the president's agenda and the means to pursue it. It tends to adjust to the idiosyncrasies of each presidential administration, hoping to minimize differences between the past and present chief executive.

Generally, there tends to be a major modification in the Philippines' foreign policy and external behaviour, whenever there is a new presidential administration. This particularly happens when succeeding presidents have considerable differences in their personal characteristics and global perceptions. This results in inconsistencies in the country's foreign policy whenever there are significant changes in the presidential administrations. As with other democratic countries that possess a presidential system of government, the Philippines

tends to suffer from less bureaucratic continuity whenever a new presidential administration (with a single six-year term) is established after every election. Because of these, the Philippines tends to suffer from the lack of standardized procedure in managing its international affairs. This makes the Philippines susceptible to carry out less strategic foreign policy decisions. Thus, Philippine foreign policy across all presidencies generally share a common feature----an absence of consistency and continuity which falls short of a long-term vision.

Another institutional challenge for the Philippines is caused by the bureaucratic politics between the bureaucrats and the political appointees. This is especially apparent when the bureaucrats or the career diplomats have to deal with the president's political appointees who may have limited foreign policy experience. Past Philippine presidents have been criticized for their controversial appointees who lack expertise in international relations. This reflects the country's long-entrenched patronage system that enabled the president to appoint individuals based on personal loyalty or political quid pro quo. According to Cagoco-Guam (2018), some of these officials are regarded as "sycophants who are catapulted into positions of power in government even if their major qualification is that they are vociferous defenders of the administration."

As top-level decision makers in the DFA, some of these unqualified political appointees hamper foreign policy decision-making and implementation. They are often tempted to initially advance their personal ambitions, while their organization's mandate or the nation's interests place second. The Philippines is particularly susceptible to this dilemma as its bureaucracy, particularly its foreign service, is led by high-ranking officials who are appointed by the president based primarily on loyalty and not on expertise. The tendency for some of these political appointees who carry self-serving agendas, is to overlook or bypass the recommendations and decisions of career diplomats on matters related to the Philippines' external affairs. This results in an uninformed foreign policy for the Philippines. And when there are frequent policy conflicts between bureaucrats and appointees, Philippine foreign policy tends to be less coherent.

Meanwhile, the rampant bureaucratic manoeuvring is another institutional challenge for the Philippines. This points to the competition and discord among professional bureaucrats, political appointees, and officials from different government agencies such as Foreign Affairs, National Defence, or Trade and Industry. The bureaucratic politics among these competing department agencies normally result in compromises among these actors with diverse interests, unequal influence, and different perceptions of national interests. Thus with the different agencies involved in a large bureaucracy (each with its own standard way of doing things), Philippine foreign policy is likely to be fragmented.

These recurrent challenges reveal the Philippines' less institutionalized political institutions, which are detrimental in its foreign policy process. These political and bureaucratic impediments prevent the country's leaders and officials from pursuing more consistent, coherent, and strategic goals in the external environment. According to Salmore and Salmore (1978, 121), "it is anticipated that the behaviour of highly constrained regimes will have a higher proportion of actions elicited by another entity rather than actions indicating a coherent policy toward such an entity." Because of its institutional challenges and political constraints, the Philippines tends to have an inward-looking predisposition that largely reflect a *reactive approach* to bilateral issues or external crises.

Less Institutionalised Political Institutions: Reflecting the Philippines' Weak Behaviour

The Philippines' reactive approach towards most of the cases in this study essentially reveal its "weak" behaviour. This is brought about by the country's less institutionalised political institutions that largely constrain it to implement a more strategic policy and action in international affairs.

Such observation is clearly apparent during the Taiwanese deportation case when the Philippines' Bureau of Immigration repatriated them to the mainland in violation of the writ of habeas corpus issued by the Court of Appeals. The contradicting decisions between the executive and judicial branches of the Philippine government reveal its fragmented political institutions.

The Philippine government also demonstrated a confounded and inconsistent manner by which it managed its issues with Taiwan while adhering to its One-China policy. During the deportation case, the Philippines sent the Taiwanese suspects to the mainland and vehemently refused to give an official apology to Taiwan. It strictly enforced its interpretation of the One-China policy to guise its accommodation of China's looming influence over the case.

But during the Taiwanese fisherman's death, the Philippines offered a formal letter of apology on behalf of the president and the Filipino people to the fisherman's family and to the Taiwanese people. It essentially revealed its compromising stance on its One-China policy after the country felt the negative impact of Taiwan's sanctions. Such inconsistency reflects the lack of standard procedures in the implementation of the Philippines' foreign policy, which sometimes becomes politicized and subjected to various interpretations and agendas of its leaders.

The Philippines' reactive approach on its external issues is also manifested on how it managed the Sabah standoff. While it has a dormant claim on the territory, it essentially has no clear policy stance on how to pursue it other than to conduct studies from one presidential administration after another, without any concrete proposals or recommendations. As a result, the Philippines has no strategic stance on Sabah, which suggests it may be relinquishing its territorial claims and ceding its sovereign rights to Malaysia.

During Veloso's scheduled execution, the Philippines' reactive approach on urgent issues is depicted in the public criticisms against the government for failing to take immediate and dedicated actions on the case. Such delay can be pointed to the bureaucratic inefficiencies in the country's government, which essentially reflects its low political institutionalization. To a certain extent, this diminished its campaign towards saving Veloso from the death penalty in Indonesia.

In its case with Kuwait, the Philippines exposed its patronage system in its political institutions when Duterte appointed his political ally, Allan Peter Cayetano, as the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This proved to be detrimental as evidenced in the Philippines' political row

with Kuwait. With no prior diplomatic experience, Cayetano permitted the video release of an alleged rescue operation of Filipino workers, deemed to be a proactive approach to protect them, but with grave consequences as a result. He was deemed to have used the occasion to score 'political points' and media mileage for self-promotion. The alleged 'rescue' operation in the video was largely perceived as a publicity stunt to promote his political future after his term as the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. As a result of his vested interests and erroneous decision, Cayetano caused diplomatic embarrassment for the Philippines, costing a diminished position during its negotiation with Kuwait on a labour agreement to protect the welfare of Filipino workers.

All of the cases mentioned above point to the Philippines' perennial institutional challenges, which reflect its low political institutionalization. Consequently, this negatively affected the country's foreign policy and weakened its national stance towards all of its issues with other small states.

5.2.2 National Interests

For the Philippines, its national interests are enshrined in the "Foreign Service Act of 1991," commonly known as the "Three Pillars of Philippine Foreign Policy." These include (1) Preservation and enhancement of national security; (2) Promotion and attainment of economic security; (3) Protection of the rights and promotion of the welfare and interest of Filipinos overseas. Evidently, the Philippines shares similar security and economic interests with other countries, but also includes assistance to nationals as both its objective and responsibility in the conduct of its foreign policy.

Though a nation's foreign policy is expected to protect its citizens abroad, the Philippines greatly emphasizes this mandate. According to Hill (2003), foreign policy aims to work towards achieving the general conditions in which expatriates are secure enough to pursue life and work abroad, and to help them when they get into trouble. In the Philippines' case, the estimated 12 million Filipinos scattered around the world (comprising 10 percent of the country's total population) serve as an enormous and often vulnerable constituency to its

foreign service. Their significant number compels the government to attend to their needs and advance their welfare abroad through its various embassies and consulates.

Because of the continuous growth of overseas Filipino workers, it has spawned intense public attention as part of the country's national interests. This despite the low awareness and marginal concern among the general public on issues related to foreign policy and international relations. Particularly in the Philippines, there is a large population of uneducated people who are less knowledgeable or sometimes ill-informed on foreign policy matters. Interests on international news are mostly confined within the elite and the attentive public. The general lack of concern among the masses, particularly in developing countries such as the Philippines, is due to the fact that foreign policy has a less immediate and visible impact on them. Their attention is directed towards domestic issues highlighting their concerns about daily survival rather than grand politics.

High Public Interest on National Interests: Impassioned Attitude for Philippines

However, public opinion in the Philippines is becoming increasingly vocal on certain international issues, especially in relation to migrant workers. Aside from being one of the country's national interests and foreign policy goals, the protection of overseas Filipino workers (OFW) possess large public constituencies that influence government decisions and actions in international affairs. Any critical issues relevant to the welfare of OFWs can easily mobilize public opinion and can generate domestic pressures to reach the highest level of government.

This is the one aspect in Philippine foreign policy that arouse public emotions and interests since a significant number of Filipinos have family and friends living overseas. Thus, the protection of overseas Filipino workers is regarded both as the Philippine government's national interest and its institutional mandate. Because of this, the Philippines tends to project a very responsive foreign policy, and is inclined to display an *impassioned* stance towards other states.

National Interests embodied by OFWs: Impact on the Philippines' Weak/Strong Behaviour

Because of both domestic pressure and public support, the advancement of the welfare of Filipinos overseas can serve as a motivating force to project a “stronger” stance for the Philippines.

This is reflected in the Filipino public's emotional response during the impending execution of Veloso in Indonesia and the growing number of abuse and murder cases of Filipino workers in Kuwait. Both cases confirm that issues related to its nationals abroad prompt fervent action from the Philippines in dealing with foreign governments to promote their welfare and at the same time, satisfy its domestic constituency.

However, the protection of overseas Filipino workers can constrain the Philippine government in its external actions and can result in a “weakened” position on foreign policy issues. This is reflected in the two cases involving Taiwan. The Philippines conceded to the Taiwanese government after imposing punitive measures that negatively affected the employment of Filipino workers.

During the Taiwanese deportation case, the Philippines was slapped with longer processing of work visas for Filipinos implemented by the Taiwanese government. Its emissary also pleaded to the Taiwanese government not to push through with its threat of a freeze hiring. To resolve the issue, the Philippines fired its immigration officials to avert Taiwan's threat. Meanwhile during the Taiwanese fisherman's death, the Philippines yielded to most of Taiwan's demands (particularly providing an official apology and compensation) after it imposed a freeze hiring of Filipinos. Both cases reveal that issues affecting overseas Filipino workers can result in a diminished position for the Philippines in relation to others.

In sum, a small state's level of political institutionalization and national interests can affect its behaviour. The table in the following page summarizes the peculiar characteristics of the Philippines institutions and national interests as earlier discussed:

Table 18: Political Determinants of Philippine Foreign Policy⁶⁴

Political Determinants	Characteristics
Political Institutions of the Philippines	Low political institutionalization due to personality-based nature of governance that results in major policy adjustments during changes in presidential administration
	Low political institutionalization allows for patronage system that appoints individuals with no foreign policy credentials to serve in government
	Low political institutionalization underscores weak bureaucracy susceptible to discord and competition among government agencies
National Interests of the Philippines	Protection of migrant workers generate intense public opinion that influence government decision and actions in its international affairs

5.3 Bilateral Determinants: Relative Power Capabilities and Asymmetric Bilateral Relations of the Philippines vis-à-vis other Small States

Aside from the leadership and political determinants that are both internal to the state, there are also the bilateral determinants that influence a small state's foreign policy. They essentially explain the policies and actions of a small state in relation to another. A small state's relative capabilities refers to its power in relational terms that seeks to affect the behaviour of others. Meanwhile, a small state's asymmetric relations relative to another highlights their unequal ties despite their seeming parity in aggregate structural power or material resources. Both these factors affect a small state's foreign policy and its external behaviour.

5.3.1 Relative Power Capabilities

In its interactions with fellow small states, the Philippines uses its relative capabilities to influence others by employing 'power instruments.' It employs these to promote its national interests and to gain concessions from other states in either the political or economic domain. Except for military instruments, it cautiously utilizes all others that may be combined

⁶⁴ This table is an overview of the political determinants of the Philippines as discussed by the author in this study.

in a variety of ways. As mentioned in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, the other power instruments that are commonly used include: economic, diplomatic, and symbolic.

Similar to the majority of small states, the Philippines possesses weak military resources, which only ranks 6th out of 9 on military strength among countries in Southeast Asia in the Global Firepower Index in 2018. This exposes its lower military capability even in comparison with its fellow small states. It is subjected to the military power instruments exhibited by others, which makes the Philippines susceptible to the manoeuvring of its peers. It also has to contend with other states' show of force or military threats when imposing their agenda.

Its military vulnerability is particularly evident during the Sabah standoff between the Malaysian forces and the Royal Sulu army. The Philippine government had to yield to Malaysia's tactical decision to use force against the Sulu army and to accept the death casualties during the military operation in Sabah. With Malaysia's more advanced military capabilities, the Philippines largely had to take a backseat during the Sabah standoff. This largely reflected its weak behaviour towards Malaysia.

Diplomatic and Symbolic Power: Persuasive Action for the Philippines

Despite its military deficiencies, the Philippines is able to project power towards other states by using diplomatic and symbolic instruments. As a small state, it often employs these instruments such as protests and verbal persuasion to convey its interests and to get other countries to respect them. The common use of these diplomatic and symbolic power implies the country's generally low aggregate power and capabilities, particularly its weak military force and to some extent, its limited economic resources relative to some of its peers.

Because of this, the Philippines generally adopts a normative foreign policy based on universally-accepted norms and the rule of law. Its projection of such foreign policy is intended to result in *persuasive* actions to achieve the country's goals and objectives in relation to other states. It is in the use of these power instruments that the Philippines was

able to convince Taiwan to lift the economic sanctions imposed on it in the aftermath of the deportation case; while it was able to persuade Indonesia to defer the execution of Veloso.

Power Capabilities: Means towards the Philippines' Strong Behaviour

In most of the cases in this study, the Philippines was able to project “strength” by employing symbolic means in dealing with other small states. In the Taiwanese deportation case, the Philippines sent an emissary (a former Filipino Senator) to explain to Taiwan the reasons behind its decision to deport its nationals to the mainland. It also dismissed its immigration officials as a form of apology to which Taiwan has accepted. This eventually averted worsening relations between the two parties.

Meanwhile in the aftermath of the Taiwanese fisherman’s death, the Philippines stood its ground not to conduct a joint investigation with Taiwan under its One-China policy. Though its refusal is regarded as a symbolic manifestation of its sovereign right as a state, the Philippines’ firm stance on such matter enabled it to project a “strong” behaviour towards Taiwan despite the latter’s more superior economic and military capabilities.

Moreover, the Philippines employed symbolic means to protect the welfare of overseas Filipino workers in Kuwait. Through Duterte’s verbal attacks against the Kuwaiti government (that is apparently undiplomatic), the Philippines was able to shine a spotlight on the growing cases of murder and abuse of Filipinos. Such international “public shaming” can be regarded as a symbolic use of power, which prompted immediate actions from Kuwait to address the issue. Though this is largely implied in the case, Duterte’s condemnation has enabled the Philippines to demonstrate a “strong” stance towards Kuwait.

In addition, the Philippines employed various diplomatic approaches to defer Veloso’s death penalty in Indonesia. Aquino personally lobbied her case to Widodo and the government made legal petitions to postpone her scheduled execution. Local civil society groups in the Philippines also made a humanitarian appeal for sympathy to the Indonesian government by using the narrative of the poor plight of their own overseas workers, which most Indonesians (with its own large population of citizens abroad) can relate to. Such

concerted national efforts “strengthened” the Philippines’ position, which eventually convinced Indonesia to temporarily cancel Veloso’s death sentence.

5.3.2 Asymmetric Bilateral Relations

In the case of the Philippines, its relations with fellow small states reveal both interdependence and dependence with them. This essentially reveals the inequality between small states despite its seeming power parity. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, Barbieri (1996, 33) distinguishes ‘dependence’ highlighting unequal relations and ‘interdependence’ underscoring relations of mutual need. Determining a small state’s dependence/interdependence with another is influenced by the government and its leader’s perception on the cost and benefits of the bilateral relation to it.

Dependent Relations: Acquiescent Reaction Revealing Weak Behaviour of the Philippines

The Philippines has several dependent ties resulting in a vulnerable foreign policy posture relative to its more military-advanced, and economically-superior counterpart. This tends to cause an *acquiescent* reaction from the Philippines whenever there is tension or crisis in its unequal and dependent bilateral relations.

As a developing country, the Philippines is prone to economic sanctions such as reduction of investments, delays in trade, or withdrawal of loans and grants. It is also affected by the other countries’ subtle use of bilateral aid often employed as a reward or punishment. To give bilateral aid or to disallow it, and to create dependencies through its use, are all strategies for influence by the more affluent countries. Thus, the Philippines is prone to display an insecure foreign policy stance, which also leads to an *acquiescent* reaction to the more developed adversary even to a fellow small state.

In some of the cases in this study, the Philippines’ *acquiescent* reaction on issues with other small states led to its “weak behaviour.” This was clearly apparent in both cases with Taiwan during the aftermath of the deportation case and the death of the Taiwanese fisherman. The Philippines perceived itself to be economically dependent on Taiwan for trade,

and employment opportunities for its overseas workers. Thus, it had to make concessions whenever the Taiwanese government imposed economic sanctions against it.

In addition, the Philippines' political dependence with Malaysia caused its "weak behaviour" during the Sabah standoff. Its dependence on Malaysia's critical diplomatic role as a facilitator in the peace process with the MILF, constrained the Philippine government to support the Sulu army led by Kiram in renewing the country's claim to Sabah. The Philippine government, led by Aquino, essentially feared that Malaysia could put the peace agreement between the Philippine government and the MILF in peril.

The *acquiescent* reactions of the Philippines that resulted in its "weakened" behaviour can largely be pointed to the Aquino administration's perceptions of the country's dependence towards other small states. This is particularly apparent in the Philippines' economic dependence with Taiwan and its political dependence with Malaysia.

Interdependent Relations: Defiant Action Reflecting Strong Behaviour for Philippines

However, there are instances when the Philippines acted to the contrary based on its interdependent relations. Some of its interdependent relations with a few small states enabled it to have a more resolute or flexible stance that is not easily subjected to their influence. This typically results in a *defiant* action from the Philippines when it has to confront issues with other small states.

Such *defiant* action generates a "stronger" behaviour from the Philippines towards other small states. This was evident in the Philippine government's imposition of the deployment ban against Kuwait. Because of the murder and abuse against Filipino workers, the Duterte administration enforced the ban, taking into account Kuwait's reliance on migrant workers particularly household service workers from the Philippines. Because of their interdependence with each other, both countries eventually signed a labour agreement that would end the deployment ban. It essentially guaranteed the dispatch of Filipino workers to Kuwait (benefitting Kuwait's economy), while protecting their rights and welfare (fulfilling the Philippine government's mandate). Such view of economic interdependence can be

associated with Duterte's perception that Kuwait requires Filipino workers as much as the Philippines needs Kuwait for employment opportunities.

And to a certain extent, the Philippines' regional interdependence with Indonesia generated its more confident drive to push for its interests and achieve its goal. During its campaign to postpone the execution of Veloso, the Philippine government invoked its regional affinity with Indonesia courtesy of ASEAN by citing the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty. The Philippines' has tacitly emphasized to Indonesia their regional political interdependence to accomplish its objective of saving Veloso. Such emphasis on the Philippines and Indonesia's political interdependence can be pointed to the Aquino administration's perception on the relevance of regional affinity through ASEAN. By invoking its political interdependence and its ASEAN relations, this implicitly suggested a "strong" manifestation in the Philippines' external behaviour.

In sum, the relative power capabilities and asymmetric relations between small states affect their interactions. The table in the next page summarizes the power instruments typically employed by the Philippines and its dependent and interdependent relations with other small states as previously discussed:

Table 19: Bilateral Determinants of Philippine Foreign Policy⁶⁵

Bilateral Determinants	Characteristics
Power capabilities of the Philippines relative to other states	Inadequate military and economic instruments compared with other countries
	Frequent exercise of diplomatic and symbolic instruments towards other countries
Asymmetric relations of the Philippines with other states	Inequality can either cause dependence or independence in the economic or political relations with other states

⁶⁵ This table is an overview of the bilateral determinants of the Philippines towards another small state as discussed by the author in this study.

Based on this chapter's discussion, the table in the following page provides a summary of the external behaviours of the Philippines and the explanatory factors behind them in each of the cases. It also provides a brief description on how these factors could either weaken or strengthen the behavioural assessment of the Philippines.

Table 20: Summary of the Philippines' External Behaviours and the External Factors of its Foreign Policy that Weaken or Strengthen its Behaviour⁶⁶

Case	External Behaviour	Explanatory Factor	Details	Impact on Philippine Behaviour
The Philippines' Deportation of Taiwanese Suspects to China	Inconsistent and Reactive Approach	Political Institutions	Fragmented bureaucracy led to contradicting decisions between executive and judicial branches of the Philippine government	Weaken position
	Compounded Attitude	Global Perception	Aquino's complex worldview and interdependent outlook prioritized China over Taiwan	Strengthen action
	Impassioned Attitude	National Interests	Philippine government pleaded to Taiwan to cancel long processing of work visas and not to push through with the freeze hiring of Filipinos	Weaken position
	Persuasive Action	Relative Power Capabilities	The Philippines sent an emissary to explain to Taiwan the reasons behind the deportation and dismissed its immigration officials as a form of apology	Strengthen stance
The Philippines' Political Clash with Taiwan over Fisherman's Death	Reactive Approach	Political Institutions	Lack of strategic response and standard procedures in the implementation of the Philippines' foreign policy	Weaken position
	Acquiescent Reaction	Asymmetrical Bilateral Relations	Economic dependency with Taiwan caused the Philippines to make large concessions	Weaken stance

⁶⁶ This table is a summary of the Philippines' external behaviours and foreign policy determinants and factors based on all of the cases discussed in this study.

Case	External Behaviour	Explanatory Factor	Details	Impact on Philippine Behaviour
The Philippines' Interaction with Malaysia over the Sabah Standoff	Cooperative Attitude	Personal Characteristics	Aquino's collaborative demeanour towards Malaysia seen as detrimental to the Sulu militants' territorial claim on Sabah	Weaken position
	Reactive Approach	Asymmetrical Bilateral Relations	Political dependency on Malaysia's role as a facilitator in the peace process prevented the Philippines to take an active stance during the Sabah standoff	Weaken stance
	Acquiescent Reaction	Political Institutions	No clear and strategic policy stance on Philippines' territorial claim on Sabah	Weaken position
The Philippines' Petition to Save the Life of Filipino Worker in Indonesia	Impassioned stance	National Interests	Strong public sentiment forced the Philippines to make last-minute efforts to save Veloso	Strengthen action
	Reactive Approach	Political Institutions	Bureaucratic inefficiencies failed to take urgent actions on Veloso's case	Weaken position
	Cooperative Attitude	Personal characteristics	Aquino's conciliatory personality projected the courteous manner by which he lobbied Veloso's case	Strengthen action
	Conclusive demeanour	Global Perceptions	Duterte's clear-cut worldview and independent outlook highlighted a legalist policy and "hands off" reaction on Veloso's case	Weaken stance
	Persuasive Actions	Relative power capabilities	Aquino personally lobbied Veloso's case to Widodo, government made legal petitions to postpone her scheduled execution, and civil society groups made a humanitarian appeal	Strengthen action

Case	External Behaviour	Explanatory Factor	Details	Impact on Philippine Behaviour
The Philippines' Diplomatic Row with Kuwait over Filipino Workers	Impassioned Attitude	National Interests	Strong public outrage over death and abuse of Filipino workers enables the Philippines to take actions against Kuwait	Strengthen conduct
	Proactive Approach	Political Institutions	Patronage system in politics allowed political appointees without credentials to make poor decision affecting bilateral relations	Weaken position
	Combative Reaction	Personal characteristics	Duterte's forceful personality led to strong condemnation against Kuwait	Strengthen conduct
	Coercive Action	Asymmetrical Bilateral Relations	Economic interdependency with Kuwait enabled the Philippines to push for more labor rights of Filipino workers	Strengthen action

5.4 Correlation of Explanatory Factors in Analysing Foreign Policy

In sum, an analysis of the Philippines' foreign policy is necessary to understand its external behaviour. The leadership, political, and bilateral determinants and their corresponding explanatory factors stipulate the foreign policy it pursues, and provide the rationale behind its conduct.

Based on the three major determinants, Philippine foreign policy can be analysed through each of their explanatory factors. While some are more influential in the country's foreign policy depending on specific cases, others may not be as prominent. However, these factors are essentially interrelated and have linkages with one another. Thus, this should be examined in order to have a holistic view of the Philippines' foreign policy and its impact on its external behaviour towards other small states.

Generally, there is a correlation between the leadership and political determinants, particularly its institutions, which are internal to the state. In the case of the Philippines, its president possesses personal characteristics and global perceptions that shape its foreign policy. Because of the country's personality-based political culture, Filipino presidents have significant influence in its foreign policy process. In particular, they manifest their personalities and perceptions in the country's political institutions through their political appointees in the executive branch, which formulates and implements Philippine foreign policy. While the president has expansive authority in the foreign policy process acting in the name of the state, he/she is subjected to the country's patronage system (appointing unqualified officials) and its weak and fragmented bureaucracy. These factors, which reflect the Philippines' less institutionalised political institutions, constrain its leadership to promote an effective and strategic foreign policy.

The link between the leadership and political determinants is also manifested in the Filipino president's view of national interests. He/she has to prioritize and balance Philippine interests in a hierarchy of importance. Particularly, national interests motivated by public opinion induces the president and the rest of the government to prioritize the country's

foreign policy goals that would seek to satisfy domestic constituency, particularly concerning the protection of overseas Filipino workers.

Meanwhile, the leadership determinant of the Philippines' foreign policy also influence its bilateral determinants. The relative power capabilities and the asymmetry in relations of the Philippines vis-à-vis other small states, have implications on how its leaders manage bilateral interactions. Philippine presidents generally adjust the country's foreign policy stance based on its resource capabilities relative to other small states, as well as their bilateral asymmetry. They decide what power instruments to be used in its engagement with other small states. Moreover, how they perceive the Philippines' asymmetrical relations with another, whether it is dependent or interdependent, tends to influence their decisions on the country's foreign policy and consequently its external behaviour.

In relation, there is also a correlation between the bilateral and political determinants in the Philippines' foreign policy. Generally, its unequal power capabilities and dependent relations with other countries normally guide the Philippine government on how to manage resources, whether to utilize or conserve them in its external affairs. The disparity and dependency in bilateral ties also affect how the country will proceed in advancing its national interests. In cases when the Philippines is considered as the 'inferior' state, it tends to promote a more insecure and normative foreign policy with respect to the 'superior' state given these power dynamics. These bilateral determinants explain the characteristics of Philippine foreign policy in relation with others, and consequently provide the basis in analysing its interactions with fellow small states.

5.5 Explanatory Factors of Foreign Policy as Predictive Indicators of External Behaviour

This study's use of the inductive approach in analysing cases related to the Philippines' interaction with small states highlights the case outcome first (determining the weakness or strength of its behaviour), then provides explanations on them. As discussed, the explanatory factors in the leadership, political, and bilateral determinants of the Philippines' foreign policy explain the reasons behind its weak or strong behaviour. But when analysed and applied in reverse order, these explanatory factors in Philippine foreign policy can simultaneously be

used as references to predict the probability of its weakness or strength relative to other small states. Thus even if the case outcome is yet to be determined, it is possible to forecast a weak or strong behaviour from the Philippines based on the following:

In terms of leadership determinants, the Philippines can project a weak behaviour if there are significant differences in the personalities and perceptions between its successive state leaders as exemplified by Presidents Aquino and Duterte. However, it can manifest a strong behaviour if its leaders reflect dedication to achieve a goal in interactions with other small states, whatever their personalities and perceptions may be. This is revealed in Aquino's committed stance towards Indonesia to save Veloso and Duterte's strong reactions against Kuwait regarding the mounting cases of abuse experienced by Filipinos there.

In terms of political determinants, the Philippines is expected to act weak towards another small state when its less institutionalised government institutions hamper the implementation of its foreign policy. The country may also exhibit weak behaviour when its government is constrained by the high domestic pressure to pursue its national interests such as the protection of overseas Filipino workers. This national interest can be potentially used as leverage against the Philippines by another small state in a bilateral conflict to pursue its own national interest. However, the Philippines can also be predicted to act strong if the advancement of its national interests is significantly backed by the majority of its citizens.

In terms of bilateral determinants, the Philippines is predicted to manifest weakness if it has less economic and military capabilities relative to other small states (as compared with Taiwan) and if it deems to be in a politically and economically dependent relations with another (as in the case with Malaysia). In contrast, the Philippines is anticipated to project strength if it uses diplomatic capabilities to persuade other small states that will achieve its objective (as in the case towards Indonesia). It can also reflect strength if it possess interdependent relations with other small states or at least hold perceptions of interdependence, which enable it to assert its preferred outcome in a bilateral dispute (as in the case with Kuwait).

These discussions on the Philippines' foreign policy are the reasons behind its external behaviour towards others small states. They can also be used as important basis in predicting its weak or strong behaviour. Such analysis should aim to provide relevant insights that could benefit other small states in managing their foreign policies and estimating external behaviours, which will be summarized in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The Philippines' External Behaviour and Foreign Policy: Important Insights for Small States

This final chapter shifts from the specifics of the individual cases of the Philippines' external behaviours and the explanatory factors in its foreign policy, to the general principles they reveal. The purpose is to provide insights that may be relevant in analysing other cases of small state interactions in particular, or international relations in general. Such insights can serve as guidelines in understanding the behaviour and policy of a small state and how they affect its engagement with others.

The first part of this chapter highlights the vital principles derived from the evaluation of the Philippines' external behaviours, which reveals the weakness or strength of its conduct in each of the cases discussed. They are hinged on the evaluative measures determining a small state's weak or strong behaviour, as explained in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3 and applied in the Operationalization of the Case Studies in Chapter 4.

The second part of this chapter offers valuable reflections on the explanatory factors behind the Philippines' foreign policy, which provide the logical basis of its external behaviour. They are grounded on the theoretical perspectives that link policy and behaviour as presented in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3. These factors also provide the reasons behind the variations in a small states' behaviour---- weak, semi-weak, strong, or semi-strong--- during an issue with another small state.

Following the principles derived from the analysis of the Philippines' external behaviour and foreign policy as a small state, this chapter concludes with a brief riposte on the research questions raised in the Introduction in Chapter 1. It offers relevant insights that can serve as a guideline for other small states to enable them to determine their weak or strong behaviour. These insights are expected to be useful contributions to the academic literature on small state studies. In addition, this study mentions its limitations in the analysis of small states, which can then serve as the basis for future studies that could enrich the field of International Relations.

6.1 Principles in the Evaluation of External Behaviour: Behavioural Assessment of a Small State

As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, the evaluative measures of a state's conduct highlighting the issue power balance and issue outcome, provide an initial estimation of a small state's weak or strong behaviour. In the cases involving the Philippines and fellow small states, these measures expose the inequality in their power relations despite their seeming equivalence in material power.

Meanwhile, the discrete external behaviours of a small state provides the nuances behind its weak or strong behaviour. They specify its behaviour on an issue (situation-based) in relation towards another small state (actor-based). Along with the evaluative measures of behaviours, considering these external behaviours result in the overall behavioural assessment of a small state as detailed in the Operationalization in Chapter 4. Applying these evaluation process of state behaviour in the cases involving the Philippines, the following are some important insights that may have some resonance with other small states:

1. *Issue-specific power is a more important determinant than aggregate structural power in assessing a small state's behaviour towards another.*

As pointed out in the Introduction in Chapter 1, power must be viewed as multi-dimensional and not just an all-encompassing concept. The initial tendency in the field of International Relations is to focus on a state's aggregate structural power (material resources and capabilities), which does not fully explain unexpected outcomes over issues between states. Though aggregate structural power is relevant in analysing small states, it must not be viewed as the primary factor in measuring state behaviour and interactions. In fact, it does not necessarily influence the determination of outcomes, in the same manner that the issue specific power does.

Since it does not possess large resources and adequate capabilities, a small state can use various tactics to alter the issue power balance in other ways. These include threats to withdraw in negotiations, coalition building with other states, and the use of global public opinion to promote its agenda, among others. These tactics do not require the tangible resources of aggregate structural power.

This was evident in how the Philippines used diplomatic and legal tactics to convince Indonesia to give temporary reprieve to Veloso's death penalty. Government officials personally lobbied to its Indonesian counterparts and offered to make Veloso a state witness to capture the drug syndicate that victimized her.

2. Issue-specific power is also a more influential determinant than aggregate structural power in deciding a small state's weak or strong behaviour relative to another.

If one has to analyse the potency of a small state's behaviour, then the issue-specific power is relevant since it contextualize its resources and capabilities comparatively with another small state in a particular case. In fact, a small state can achieve its preferred outcome not necessarily due to aggregate structural power, but largely through issue-specific power.

This implies that the assessment on a small state's weak or strong behaviour towards another is largely dependent on the bilateral issue, and NOT the other small state or more specifically, the material power it possess. Thus a small state with lower aggregate structural power compared to another does not automatically result in a weak behaviour, and vice versa.

Such observation is particularly evident in the two cases involving the Philippines and Taiwan. While the Philippines has lower aggregate structural power, it did not exhibit a consistently weak behaviour in both of its cases with Taiwan. Specifically, the Philippines projected a "semi-strong" behaviour in the Taiwanese deportation case; while it demonstrated a "semi-weak" behaviour in the aftermath of the Taiwanese fisherman's death.

These two different cases involving the same actors reveal that a small state can alter the issue power balance despite the discrepancy in its aggregate structural power relative to another. It also implies that a small state with less material power such as the Philippines do not have to automatically 'loose out' to another small state with more resource capabilities like Taiwan. Ultimately, issue power balance carries more influence in a small state's conduct that could either weaken or strengthen its behaviour.

3. The direct connection between issue power balance and issue outcome is vital in defining an "initial estimation" of a small state's weak or strong behaviour towards another.

As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 3, there is a direct correlation between the issue power balance and the issue outcome. Thus, analysing a state's *alternatives*, *commitment*, and *control* as well as the tactics it adopts to affect these elements, can determine whether it gave few or more *concessions*, achieved or failed in its *objectives*, or changed or remained in its *position*.

Basically, any alterations in these elements both in issue power balance and issue outcome determine the potency of the small state. When the issue power balance is consistently in favour of the small state, it will likely achieve its preferred outcome, which results in an initial estimation of a "strong" behaviour. This is revealed in the Philippines' firm commitment to achieve its objective of saving Veloso from her scheduled execution in Indonesia. Its strong behaviour is also reflected in its firm control over the deportation case of Taiwanese suspects to China that enabled it to avoid apologizing to Taiwan, and to keep a resolute position on its "one-China policy."

Meanwhile, when the issue power balance does not align with the small state, it will likely fail to reach its preferred outcome while the other party succeeds. This produces an initial estimation of a "weak" behaviour. The Philippines' weak control during the standoff by the Sulu militants exposes its unclear and insecure position regarding its dormant claim on Sabah. As a result, Malaysia took control of the situation that consequently solidified its authority over the territory.

4. *A small state can project a strong behaviour towards others by producing or increasing its issue power balance (alternative, commitment, control) through the use of its limited yet available aggregate structural power to achieve a positive issue outcome (concession, objective, position).*

A small state can strengthen its behaviour by increasing its *alternatives* through the use of its economic or military resources, if any, to give credibility to its tactics. If there is limited resources, it can use diplomatic options as an alternative to resolve issues and to prevent further giving *concessions* to the other. Instead of giving the Taiwanese government an official apology over the deportation case, the Philippines opted to send a special envoy to explain its decision, and to dismiss its immigration officials. It essentially created an

alternative to an official apology to increase its issue power balance and to settle the issue with Taiwan.

Moreover, a state can project a strong behaviour by using its aggregate structural power to increase *control*. It can project or use its military forces if it is relatively superior compared to the other state. Or it can use various tactics such as coercion, ignoring, or resisting the other party's demands. Such actions enable the state to push for its firm *position* on a policy issue. But even if the state possesses aggregate structural power or material resources, the state may face several constraints in using them to increase control. According to Habeeb (1988, 131): "these constraints may derive from internal public or political opposition to coercively increase control, or the costs of increasing control may be greater than the likely benefits."

This is evident when Duterte took control of the growing cases of abuse against Filipinos in Kuwait by declaring a labour deployment ban. There was domestic opposition against it, resulting in the loss of employment opportunities and the possible increase in the number of illegal workers going to Kuwait. The Philippines eventually lifted the deployment ban upon signing the labour agreement with Kuwait.

Meanwhile, a state can also exhibit a strong behaviour towards another by increasing its *commitment*, thereby enabling it to achieve its *objective* or preferred outcome. However, commitment is the one component in the issue power balance in which aggregate structural power resources have no effect. Basically, "commitment cannot be 'bought' nor can it be increased through coercion. It is based partly on aspiration and need, and partly on the tactical ability to motivate one's constituency. In particular, commitment based on aspiration is the state's best hope for creating and maintaining a favourable issue power balance (Habeeb 1988, 132)." In the Philippines' case, its strong commitment and impassioned stance to save Veloso enabled it to successfully achieve its objective of convincing Indonesia to cancel her scheduled execution.

5. *The impact of a small state's discrete external behaviours is a critical consideration in predicting an overall assessment of its behaviour. However the nature and tendencies of these behaviours do not automatically imply a small state's weakness or strength.*

Instead, their impact on the bilateral issue and towards the other small state is a more relevant indicator.

The discrete external behaviours of a small state can influence the initial estimation of its behaviour, which can consequently contribute to its overall behavioural assessment. These behaviours essentially provide the nuances behind its weakness or strength, which may consequently reveal an overall ‘semi-weak’ or ‘semi-strong behaviour.’ But taking each external behaviour at face value and judging it as weak or strong based solely on its nature, may inadvertently result in an inaccurate assessment on the small state’s general behaviour.

Based on the efforts in the Operationalization of Case Studies in Chapter 4, this study therefore examined each external behaviours on a case-by-case basis. For instance, a *proactive approach* of a small state in a given issue does not always result in a strong behaviour, as revealed in the Philippine government’s ‘rescue operation’ of Filipino workers in Kuwait. Whereas a *cooperative* attitude towards another small state may actually represent a weak behaviour, as reflected in Aquino’s obliging stance towards Malaysia during the Sabah standoff. Thus, assessing each external behaviour of a small state must also include its impact on the issue and to the other party. And in the analyses of the cases for this study, perceptions from observers on each of the small state’s external behaviour must also be taken into account to arrive at a more informed and introspective overall assessment of its weakness or strength.

6.2 Observations in the Explanation of External Behaviour: Foreign Policy of a Small State

After establishing the Philippines’ external behaviour, it is also important to determine the reasons behind it. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 2, the leadership, political, and bilateral determinants in foreign policy analysis produce specific explanatory factors that account for a state’s external behaviour. The case studies in Chapter 4 reveal several external behaviours of the Philippines as a small state; while the analysis of these cases in Chapter 5 highlight the explanatory factors that cause the recurrence and regularity in these behaviours.

Based on the analysis on the Philippines' foreign policy, its explanatory factors account for its discrete external behaviours on an issue (situation-based) towards another small state (actor-based). The following are some of the general observations on the explanatory factors in Philippine foreign policy, which seek to offer insights on the probable causes of weak or strong behaviour that may be considered relevant to other small states:

1. *The personal characteristics and global perceptions of a leader generate diverse external behaviours from a small state. Yet whatever his/her personality and perceptions are, a leader's keenness and dedication to achieve a goal or a preferred outcome in a bilateral issue tends to lead to a small state's strong behaviour. Meanwhile, when there is a significant contrast of personality and perceptions between successive leaders, a small state will exhibit conflicting policy and conduct, which may reduce its international credibility and thus leads to its weak behaviour.*

A leader's personal characteristics shape the manner in which a state deals with its external relations. With Aquino's conciliatory personality, the Philippines pushes for a collaborative foreign policy with a more *cooperative* external behaviour. With Duterte's autocratic personality, the Philippines tends to promote an assertive foreign policy that projects a more *combative* external behaviour.

A leader's global perceptions guide his/her decision-making on issues that affect state disposition towards an issue. There will certainly be differences in the perceptions of national interests and international situation from one leader to another, since their personal views reflect their values, goals, past experiences, and general images of the world. With his liberal/institutionalist and interdependent foreign policy, Aquino's administration projected a very complex worldview and a *compounded* demeanour for the Philippines. With his realist/pragmatic and independent foreign policy, Duterte's administration displayed a very clear-cut worldview and a *conclusive* demeanour for the Philippines.

It is important to note however that regardless of a leader's personality or perception, his/her keenness and dedication to attain a specific goal or a preferred outcome essentially result in a strong behaviour for the small state. For instance, Duterte's forceful personality brought about his stinging criticism against the Kuwaiti government for the rising cases of

murder and abuse of Filipino workers. His fervent desire to stop this incidence produced a *combative* action from the Philippines and eventually reflected its strong stance towards the issue, which resulted in Kuwait's agreement to sign a labour deal. In contrast, Aquino's consenting and conciliatory personality may have produced a very *cooperative* attitude from the Philippines towards Malaysia over the Sabah standoff. But such attitude is perceived as 'pro-Malaysian' and a sign of Aquino's indifference to firmly push for the country's Sabah claim, which inadvertently reflected a weak posture for the Philippines.

Meanwhile, major differences in the personal characteristics and global perceptions between leaders after each government transition can result in inconsistencies in the policy and conduct of a small state. This may eventually weaken its external behaviour and global stance. In the Philippines' case, the considerable contrasts between the Aquino and Duterte administrations caused a substantial shift in the country's foreign policy and external behaviour. Each time it undergoes transitions in presidential administrations with their own idiosyncrasies, the Philippines consequently experiences major modifications in its response to policy issues and its dealings with other states. This tends to diminish the Philippines' credibility when confronted with ongoing international issues that require constancy in policy strategy and consistency in external behaviour. This is especially apparent in the divergent stance of the Aquino and Duterte administrations regarding Veloso's case in Indonesia.

2. *The political institution of a small state influences its weak or strong behaviour. A small state that suffers from less institutionalized political institutions manifests weak behaviour, while a small state with more institutionalized political institution projects strong behaviour.*

With due allowance for variations from one state to another, the internal political situation of a small state governs the extent of its action and determines its competency in the pursuit of its foreign policy. How institutionalized political institutions are typically determines how strategic a government can implement its foreign policy, how forcefully it can behave externally, and how actively it can play its diplomatic hand. A small state that suffers from institutional challenges is highly constrained in its external conduct and is likely to project a weak behaviour; whereas a small state with less institutional challenges is less constrained in its actions and tends to display a strong behaviour.

As a developing nation, the Philippines is still in the process of building well-functioning governance institutions that includes the management of its foreign policy and international relations. Thus at present, its less institutionalized and weak bureaucracy hinders it from projecting a more proactive behaviour in its international affairs. It reflects a foreign policy that is prone to being inconsistent, fragmented, and inward-looking.

Even when governments change especially in democratic countries, foreign policy is expected to have continuity whenever possible. However, Philippine foreign policy is deemed less strategic, which is reflected in its external behaviour. Thus, the country's political institutions and the bureaucratic politics behind them, seem to "undermine, ruin, or frustrate otherwise commendable goals and rational strategies being pursued at the international level (Baviera 2012)."

Therefore, it is no surprise that most of the cases in this study revealed a *reactive* approach from the Philippines. Its conduct is largely limited to responding to the behaviours of other states, rather than formulating new initiatives or following a concerted and calculated policy of its own. In the rare instance that the Philippines initiated pre-emptive unilateral actions, it did so only in response to urgent matters that breached into the Filipino public's consciousness, as reflected in the government's efforts at the eleventh hour to save Veloso's life in Indonesia. Though it achieved a positive outcome, the Philippine government was still criticized for their belated and last ditch efforts.

Additionally, when the Philippines took initiative, its institutional and bureaucratic liabilities tend to hinder it from accomplishing its preferred outcome. This is particularly evident during the Philippines' controversial rescue of distressed Filipino workers in Kuwait, which resulted in violations of diplomatic protocol. This was purportedly due to the country's leaders, particularly its political appointees with no foreign policy credentials. They are deemed as addicted to short-term, self-centred "politicking," rather than committed to focusing on long-term policy strategy, which eventually undermined the Philippines' position.

Thus how institutionalized the government of a small state is directly affects the potency of its behaviour. The less institutionalized its government, the weaker its external

behaviour; whereas the more institutionalized it is, the stronger its external behaviour. In the Philippines' case however, its less institutionalized government tends to reflect a reactive approach towards bilateral issues, which largely results in its weak behaviour.

3. *National interests driven by public opinion can either be a looming liability or a motivating force, which consequently weakens or strengthens the behaviour of a small state respectively.*

National interests are the motivational basis of a small state's foreign policy, the objectives leaders insinuate in their policies and conduct in international affairs. In particular, those national interests that are driven by public opinion generate the intensity by which a small state carries out its external actions and foreign policy. The dilemma for state leadership lies in assessing which interests are to be defended and which, if necessary, need to be sacrificed in dealing with other states. Thus, the primary task of the leader is to articulate the country's national interests and order them in a scheme of relative importance.

Leaders in democratic countries, who are accountable to their constituencies, tend to prioritize national interests that are influenced by public opinion. The mass public rarely intervenes on international affairs, and only does so when national interests affect them. Thus, state leaders and their governments fervently promote national interests that generate intense public opinion; while they reveal a slightly indifferent response towards other interests.

For other small states, there are various national interests (aside from economic and security interests) that cause high public opinion. There are those interests that may be peculiar to their countries' cultural, ideological, or socio-economic fabric that largely affect their people. Thus, their respective governments value and prioritize these national interests in their foreign policies, which influence their conduct in international affairs.

In the Philippines' case, its national interests that particularly trigger high public opinion is its migrant workers' welfare. Since most of its domestic population has families and relatives working abroad, the Philippine government highly regards the advancement of

migrant workers' welfare because of the local public interest it generates. This was particularly evident in its government's *impassioned* stance to save Veloso's life in Indonesia. Such behaviour was essentially brought about by the Filipino public's zealous outcry and emotional attitude over her scheduled execution. In contrast, the government displayed an *impassive* stance on the Sulu Sultanate's attempt to regain Sabah, partly due to the Filipinos' low-key response and partly due to the country's unclear territorial claims that have long remained dormant. In these cases, both affect national interests. Yet the protection of Filipino workers caused deep public sentiment than the issue of territorial sovereignty. Thus, the level of government response is strikingly different.

Since it generates large public opinion, the protection of overseas Filipino workers is deemed with high importance. It is not only a national interest, but an institutional mandate for the Philippine government. Because of intense domestic pressure and keen public support to advance migrant workers welfare, this serves as a motivating force for the Philippines to project a strong behaviour in its external affairs. In its engagement with Kuwait, the Philippines displayed a firm stance by imposing a temporary deployment ban and eventually securing a labour deal as a protest against the rising cases of death and abuse of Filipinos.

However, the protection of overseas Filipino workers is also a limiting factor that sometimes results in a policy dilemma for the government. Given its limited resources as a developing country, the Philippines is thus susceptible to experiencing constraints in the conduct of its foreign policy whenever it has to prioritize the protection of its nationals over the promotion of its political and security interests. In its dispute with Taiwan, the Philippines yielded to most of the Taiwanese government's demands after the latter imposed a freeze hiring of Filipino workers amidst the political clash over the Taiwanese fisherman's death. This consequently weakens the Philippines' external behaviour.

Thus, national interests that generate high public opinion can either embolden or restrain a small state's action on an issue with another small state. The above cases mentioned involving the Philippines reveal that on the one hand, overseas Filipino workers can be a rallying cause towards its strong behaviour particularly on extraordinary and urgent cases of murder, abuse, and death penalty imposed on its citizens abroad. While on the other

hand, it can be a looming liability that could weaken the Philippines' position during negotiations or conflict resolution with another small state.

In relation, it is also important to note that a small state's national interests can be used as leverage against it by a competing party. In their own pursuit of national interests, there is a tendency for other small states to exploit and use the interest of another as a means of coercion against it. For instance, the welfare of overseas Filipinos was repeatedly utilized by other small states as a bargaining chip against the Philippines during the process of a bilateral negotiation or conflict resolution. This is manifested in Taiwan's retaliatory measures against the Philippines in the aftermath of the deportation case and the death of the Taiwanese fisherman. Recognizing the important mandate and domestic pressure for the Philippine government to protect its overseas workers, Taiwan implemented a longer and more tedious process for work visa applications and a freeze hiring of Filipinos to compel the Philippines to concede to its demands.

4. *The relative power capabilities of a small state determines the range of power instruments it can use during a bilateral dispute towards another. Determining a small state's weak or strong behaviour is dependent not only on its power capabilities, but also on whether the power instruments it used have failed or fulfilled its preferred outcome.*

Relative power capabilities between states have implications on a small state's foreign policy content, the power instruments used, and the actions towards the other. In inter-state relations, a small state that has lower power capability relative to another tends to reflect a normative foreign policy. It typically employs diplomatic and symbolic means to influence another small state to compensate for its less-advanced military and economy. These are the means in which the state espouses to persuade others towards its preferred outcome.

Such diplomatic and symbolic actions involve calculated tactics and strategic alternatives, which do not cost high resource commitment from a small state's limited aggregate structural power. For instance, the Philippines utilizes high-level diplomatic

channels and symbolic instruments by relating Veloso's case to the plight of Indonesian overseas workers, which resulted in the temporary reprieve of her execution.

Meanwhile, a small state that has higher power capability relative to another can afford to project a forcible foreign policy. It generally has a wide array of power instruments it can use at its disposal, including military and economic statecraft to influence another state. These power instruments, along with other diplomatic and symbolic means, can be utilized by the small state to convince or coerce others, if necessary, towards its preferred outcome. However, the use of military and economic statecraft involve risks that may require high resource commitment from the small state's aggregate structural power.

While small states with higher power capability is commonly presumed to project a strong behaviour, it is not always the case. This also applies to small states with lower power capability that is usually assumed to manifest weak behaviour. It is thus important to note that relative power capabilities is not the sole consideration in determining weak or strong behaviour. It is in the OUTCOME after a small state uses its power capabilities that determines if a small state acted weak or strong. A small state that failed to achieve its preferred outcome is viewed to have displayed a weak behaviour. Whereas a small state that is able to fulfil its preferred outcome, no matter what power instruments are used, is deemed to have manifested a strong behaviour.

In the deportation case with Taiwan, the Philippine government used diplomatic and symbolic means to ease political tension by dismissing the Filipino immigration officials involved, without giving an official apology that may violate its One-China policy. Its actions persuaded the Taiwanese government to lift the sanctions imposed against it that led to the normalization of bilateral ties. These resulted in the fulfilment of its preferred outcome that is largely favourable to the Philippines, which essentially reflects its strong behaviour.

5. *The asymmetric bilateral relations of a small state determines its dependence and interdependence with another. Evaluating its dependence/interdependence hinges on the government and its leader's perception of the costs and benefits of the bilateral relation with the other small state. A small state that has dependent relations*

manifests weak behaviour; while a small state that has interdependent relations is inclined to project strong behaviour.

Despite the seeming power parity between small states, their relationship is not always on equal footing. Thus a small state's relation with another is affected by bilateral asymmetry that impacts its foreign policy posture and its response towards the other's action.

In an asymmetrical relation, a small state that is more dependent on another typically manifests a vulnerable foreign policy. It tends to demonstrate an *acquiescent* reaction towards the influence of the superior state with more power instruments, and thus project a weak behaviour.

During the illegal occupation of Sabah, the Philippine government has to consider Malaysia's more advanced military forces and its important role as a facilitator in the peace process in Mindanao. Thus, the Philippines is compelled to consign the Sabah crisis into the hands of the Malaysian government. Meanwhile during tensions over the death of the Taiwanese fisherman, the Philippines has to cope with the Taiwanese government's various economic sanctions. It views itself as dependent on Taiwan's trade, investments, and labour market for Filipino migrant workers. Eventually, the Philippines displayed an *acquiescent* reaction towards Taiwan. It conceded to most of Taiwan's demands to resolve the homicide case that escalated into a political row.

But a small state that is less dependent on another is able to project a more resolute foreign policy stance in response to any coercive influence. This tends to result in a *defiant* reaction towards another small state on critical issues. In an interdependent relationship, a small state can afford to demonstrate defiance, which essentially manifests a strong behaviour.

During its labour issues with Kuwait, the Philippines led by Duterte displayed defiance by imposing a deployment ban of Filipino workers. It took into account the Kuwaiti economy's reliance on migrant labour and was thus emboldened to implement the ban. And because of their interdependence with each other, the Philippines and Kuwait signed a labour agreement

on the welfare of Filipino workers that would end the deployment ban and conclude the bilateral diplomatic row.

6.3 Conclusion of this Study

This study argues that examining states with approximate power capabilities produces a more interesting case for analysis rather than those with large discrepancy in aggregate structural power. In particular, assessing the behaviour of small states towards its peers is a more relevant endeavour rather than evaluating them in comparison with great or middle power, which has long dominated small state studies.

Because of this, the discussions in this study revolved around small state engagement with each other based on the research questions raised in the Introduction in Chapter 1. This study's conclusion revisits these questions and briefly addresses them accordingly:

Recognizing a Small State's External Behaviour towards other Small States

When juxtaposing small states with each other, how does one behave when in conflict with its peers? According to the cases presented in this study, there is the interesting probability that their behaviour can fluctuate from weak to strong and vice versa. There is also the normal likelihood for small states to display partial or some degree of weakness or strength that result in semi-weak or semi-strong behaviours respectively.

This essentially breaks the long-held notion of a small state as vulnerable and defenceless. Such general assumption of weakness in small states is derived from the heavy emphasis on its limited material resources or low aggregate structural power. By focusing on the issue power balance when evaluating a small state's behaviour, this study promotes the possibility that a small state can demonstrate its strength relative to another. This implies that a small state's strength is derivative rather than intrinsic, which reveals that it is not entirely weak.

Emphasizing on the issue power balance is therefore a useful and relevant approach that particularly answers the question: how does one determine whether a small state

manifested weak or strong behaviour? Based on this study, a weak behaviour tilts the issue power balance down when a small state cannot find *alternatives*, fail to possess *control*, and possesses low *commitment* on an issue with another small state. These tend to result in a negative issue outcome for a small state through its failure to achieve its *objective*, with more *concessions* to give, and with a significant change in its *position* on a bilateral issue.

The opposite is true for a small state that projects a strong behaviour through the consolidation of its issue power balance. It can demonstrate strength by finding *alternatives*, holding *control*, and bolstering *commitment* during a dispute with others. These may result in positive issue outcome for a small state with an achieved *objective*, fewer *concessions* towards another, or no *position* change on a bilateral issue. Generally, the findings in this study validate a different notion of power as a dynamic causal process, rather than a static measure of capability. It also proves that the concept of power cannot be divorced from behaviour and outcome.

As the cases reveal, the Philippines displayed weak and strong behaviours in different instances relative to its peers. On the one hand, it neglected or faltered in capitalizing its power balance that brought about adverse results during an issue with another small state. On the other hand, it effectively boosted its power balance that resulted in a favourable issue outcome. There are also cases when the Philippines exhibited a neutral stance, wherein its strong behaviour is offset by its weak action. These particular cases typically conclude with neither the Philippines losing nor winning over another small state.

These evaluative measures based on issue power balance and issue outcome result in the initial estimation of a small state's behaviour--- weak, strong, or even neutral. However, its discrete external behaviours also affect the degree of weakness or strength that a small state manifests. How then do these external behaviours influence its overall behaviour?

Essentially, the impact of these situation-based and actor-based external behaviours influence the overall conduct of a small state, which can either be semi-weak or semi-strong. For instance, while at the conclusion of the case a small state has projected a strong behaviour, it may also have demonstrated a reactive approach while addressing an issue with

another small state. This essentially diminishes its 'strength' and results in an overall semi-strong behaviour. Thus, this study reveals that evaluating a small state's behaviour with a clear-cut and straightforward weak or strong dichotomy may not always be feasible, since it has to consider the impact of its discrete external behaviours that are equally vital in its overall behavioural assessment.

Rationalizing a Small State's External Behaviour based on its Foreign Policy

Following an assessment of a small state's behaviour towards another, it is also important to examine the reasons why a small state act the way it does. This study therefore concludes that a small state's foreign policy provides the main rationale behind its external behaviour. The leadership, political, and bilateral determinants of its foreign policy essentially explain a small state actions 'from the inside out.' In fact, each explanatory factor from these foreign policy determinants essentially corresponds to a discrete external behaviour exhibited by the small state. Consequently, these factors also influence the weakness and strength of a small state's behaviour.

The leadership determinant of a small state's foreign policy underscores the personal characteristics and global perceptions of its leaders. The distinct personalities and varied perceptions of state leaders typically reflect diverse behaviours that the country assumes. However, a leader's personality and perception do not necessarily point to a clear weakness or strength in a small state's behaviour. It is the leader's keenness and dedication to attain a preferred outcome on an issue that results in a strong behaviour for the country. Meanwhile, the significant changes in the personalities and perceptions of state leadership causes major policy adjustments, which may consequently erode the consistency and credibility of a small state and weaken its behaviour.

In addition, the political determinants of a small state's foreign policy features its political institutionalization and national interests. A small state with low political institutionalization tends to display a weak behaviour, while the ones with high political institutionalization is inclined to project a strong behaviour. Meanwhile, its national interests can enable a small state to either project a weak or strong behaviour relative to another.

Those that generate high public opinion can be a burden and a liability for the government and thus weaken its position, especially when the other small state uses it as a leverage against it in a bilateral dispute. Whereas those national interests that spawn domestic public support and score political gains for the government, enable the small state to demonstrate a strong stance towards its counterpart.

Meanwhile, the bilateral determinants of a small state's foreign policy highlight its relative power capabilities and asymmetric relations towards another small state. Despite their approximate power parity, small states have disproportionate capabilities and unequal relations that could influence its interactions with each other.

For instance, a small state with lesser power capabilities relative to another has limited power instruments it can employ, which may constrain its external behaviour. Whereas a small state with wider power capabilities compared to another has more power instruments it can use at its disposal, which can result in a more empowered behaviour. However, relative power capabilities by itself do not entirely determine a small state's weakness or strength. Instead, it is dependent on whether a small state has failed or fulfilled its preferred outcome on an issue with another state using its power capabilities. This would essentially reveal its weak or strong behaviour respectively.

In addition, a small state with dependent relations is inclined to concede to the influence of another and thus project a weak behaviour. Whereas a small state with interdependent relations may be able to defy pressures from the other and hence manifest a strong behaviour. Establishing dependence/interdependence is subjected to the costs and benefits of the bilateral relation to the small state as perceived by its government and its leaders.

These factors that belong to the leadership, political, and bilateral determinants of a small state's foreign policy significantly influence its external behaviour with some regularity. They have consistent and recurring effects that create patterns of state behaviour. The variations in them affect the weakness or strength of a small state's behaviour in different cases towards different parties. Thus, an analysis of these factors behind its foreign policy

determinants can establish a general description of what a weak or strong behaviour from a small state looks like.

Predicting a Small State's Weak or Strong Behaviour

As discussed in the previous chapter, the explanatory factors in each of the foreign policy determinants can similarly be used as predictive indicators to determine the potential weakness or strength of a small state.

Based on the analysis of the Philippines' case, this study can foresee a weak behaviour from a small state if it possess these general characteristics. For one, a small state will tend to project a weak behaviour if it has significant policy adjustments between consecutive leaderships. This is typically brought about by their differing personalities and perceptions, which tends to reduce the stability and credibility of the country's international position. Secondly, a small state is likely to demonstrate a weak behaviour if its government is less institutionalized, which exposes a less strategic, inconsistent, and fragmented foreign policy process. Thirdly, a small state is inclined to manifest weak behaviour if it is constrained by the heavy weight of advancing national interests, which generates high domestic pressure from its constituency. In some occasions, these national interest can be used by other small states as leverage against it during bilateral disputes. Lastly, a small state may be predisposed to reflect a weak behaviour when it is inhibited by the limited power capabilities it possesses; and impaired by its political and economic dependence with other small states.

Meanwhile, it is also highly probable that small states can project a strong behaviour towards its counterpart, which the Philippines has proven in some instances. A strong behaviour by a small state can be demonstrated through its leader's dedication to achieve a goal or a preferred outcome regardless of the type of personality he/she may hold. It can also be exemplified through his/her prioritization and high regard on a bilateral issue based on his/her perceptions. And with highly institutionalized political institutions, a small state can project a strong behaviour towards others. Its strength is also manifested in its emboldened and committed stance to advance its national interests that are consistently backed by staunch support from its domestic public. And despite its lower power capabilities compared with others, a small state can also demonstrate a strong behaviour through its persuasive

actions that can fulfil its objective with less resource commitment. Moreover, its interdependent relations with other small states can bring about defiance and a strong posture if its government and leaders perceive such conduct will produce more gains for the country.

Given the diversity of these foreign policy determinants and their impact in external behaviour, this study suggests that analysing a small state is a complex process, even for small states such as the Philippines. Yet despite its complexity, an analysis of state policy and behaviour may provide useful insights to other small states, which also possess developing economies, inadequate militaries, and less established institutions.

6.4 Future Directions Related to this Study

By examining the Philippines and its interactions with fellow small states, this study hopes that it can contribute to the academic discussion on small states. There are insights into the country's external behaviour and foreign policy that may also be relevant to other small states. In addition, the power dynamics as revealed in the case analysis between the Philippines and its counterparts may well inform small states in particular, and other states in general, on how to predict a weak or strong behaviour. It is hoped that this study can serve as an insightful analysis that can enable small states to offset one's weaknesses or strengthen one's behaviour in a specific issue relative to another.

Essentially, this study on the Philippines aims to be a preliminary work in understanding a small state's behaviour and policy towards its peers. Since there are limited studies concurrently focusing on these topics, going through this research is a challenging endeavour. This challenge consequently exposed various shortcomings and limitations in this study, which hopefully future scholarly works on small states will be able to address. The following are some of these limitations with particular suggestions for potential consideration in the development of small state studies:

1. From One-Country View to Two or More Countries' Perspectives

Though this study featured the dyadic interactions between small states in its case studies, it emphasized only on one country's perspectives. This study is limited to only the Philippines' view of the cases, which did not include other small states such as Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Kuwait. Thus, a comparative analysis between two small states is a good proposal for future scholarly endeavours. The literature on small state interactions can benefit from further studies equally assessing the behaviours and policies of two or more countries in their engagement with each other. This can be a good comparative basis in determining which one displayed a weak or strong behaviour relative to another.

2. Development of Evaluative Measures in Small State Behaviour

Since there are only a few literature determining a small state's weak or strong behaviour relative to its peers, it is thus necessary to further cultivate or add more evaluative measures to be used. This study resourcefully borrowed the variables in issue power balance from the field of international negotiations. And to complement them, this study also invented the variables for the issue outcome. Both were employed as improvised measurements in assessing small state behaviour.

With more awareness on small state interactions through this study, other scholars and observers can contribute to the further development of these evaluative measures by enhancing the application of the existing variables used in this study, or adding more variables in the issue power balance and issue outcome. These improvements are expected to produce more precise determination of either a weak or strong behaviour of a small state.

3. Conception of a More Generic Predictive Factors to Understand Small State Behaviour

While this study on external behaviour and foreign policy may resonate and have significant relevance with other small states, it is unsure whether or not the behavioural measures and the policy determinants may be fittingly applicable to all. Since this study highlights a one-country perspective, it essentially generated important principles and

insights that are unique and distinct to a single small state, particularly that of the Philippines. While these insights can be pertinent preliminary guidelines in rationalizing or forecasting a small state's behaviour, it may not be consistently applicable to other small states with its own set of peculiarities.

The Philippines' political institutions or national interests, for instance, may not be similar to other small states. As a result, the level of influence of these factors in determining and/or predicting the Philippines' behaviour may be different from that of other small states. Thus, it is uncertain whether or not the principles and theories developed in this study may likewise influence other small states, in the same manner that it affected the Philippines.

In proposing the future direction on the literature of small state, this study then recommends more case studies on small states in all its diversity and idiosyncrasies. Since they form the largest group in the international system, small states have the most diverse membership. Thus, the more there are varied case studies on different small states that analyse their individual policies and behaviours, the better the chances of generating more enduring theories that can be applicable or generic to majority of small states. Essentially, further studies on the small states, which examines both its individuality and its comparisons with other small states, are necessary to expand and deepen our understanding on inter-state relations.

Despite the abovementioned limitations, this study on small states featuring the Philippines is admittedly an explanatory venture, yet an important initial contribution to the literature. It essentially lays out the groundwork in promoting scholarly interests and advancing the literature on the power dynamics between small states. It is expected that the future direction on small state studies will focus more on their behaviour, policies, and bilateral interactions, rather than comparing them with other states. This is a long-overdue spotlight on small states that merits more academic attention. Going beyond its fixation on great powers, the field of International Relations can be further enriched by acknowledging the influence of small states in world politics.

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